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The Augustan Attitudes of the Poetic Persona of Tibullus

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THE AUGUSTAN ATTITUDES OF THE
POETIC PERSONA OF TIBULLUS

by

Antoinette Brazouski

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
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VITA

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She taught at both the elementary and high school levels for eight years while attending graduate school at Loyola University of Chicago on a part-time basis. After receiving the Master of Arts degree in Latin in February, 1969, she continued both studying and teaching until 1973,

when she was awarded an assistantship in the Department of Classical Studies at Loyola. Subsequently, she was chosen as the recipient of an additional assistantship, two John and Helen Condon Fellowships and an Arthur J. Schmitt Doctoral Fellowship. She was selected as a student representative on the Council of the Ph.D. Programs for the academic year 1977-1978. In May, 1978, she was elected a member of Alpha Sigma Nu, the Jesuit Honor Society. She has served as secretary-treasurer of the Chicago Classical Club from 1977.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To help fill in the colorful mosaic which is the Age of Augustus is a privilege. The rule of Augustus, characterized as a "Golden Age" even by his contemporaries, is one of the most brilliant and creative in the history of our world, yet one in which lacunae in our knowledge still exist. Our understanding of the virtues and vices, hopes and fears, all admittedly great, of that period is deepened as each stone, discovered and polished by scholarship, is added to help delineate the figures of that Age.

Actually the purpose of this dissertation is to restore not one but four tessellae to at least one corner of the image of the Augustan Age. It is to show that the poetic persona of Tibullus displays four attitudes which, in reflecting on his career and accomplishments, Augustus chose to associate with himself in the Res Gestae.¹ These include 1) a strong desire for peace and a personal rejection of the military lifestyle coupled with regard for the military achievements

¹The same attitudes are attributed to Augustus by the biographer Suetonius. Modern historians also mention them in connection with Augustus.

of the patria and of its leaders; 2) a longing for the rustic lifestyle as exemplified by past tradition and pride in the city of Rome; 3) a re-affirmation of the traditional attitudes toward marriage and family life; and 4) a special regard for Apollo, especially as the source of poetic inspiration. These four attitudes are also found in the poetry of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius.

One note of caution is appropriate here: that the poets' words give support to imperial policies is not to be taken as necessarily indicative of their actual personal feelings toward those policies. Such an investigation is beyond the scope of this study. Other tessellae must yet be discovered and polished by other hands to fill in other lacunae in the mosaic.

This dissertation, then, will accept the pieces of literature of the Augustan Age which either present Augustus' policies or express sympathy with them without questioning their authors' real intentions. It will not attempt to ferret out Augustus' personal feelings, which must remain in dispute and which undoubtedly changed during his long reign. It will not attempt to uncover what Tibullus himself thought about Augustus and all his policies.¹ Those questions, though intriguing, have thus far proved to be unanswerable

¹For a summary of the scholarship on theories regarding Tibullus' attitude toward Augustus, see Robert J. Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7." Latomus XXXIV (1975), pp. 738-739.

since the reality of Tibullus' person is presently beyond mortal reach. If, however, four attitudes associated with Augustus are present in the poems of Tibullus, it may be concluded that he was at least attuned to some of the important aims of Augustus; and some stones have been put in place.

To determine whether Augustan attitudes affected Tibullus, one might approach the works of Tibullus in several ways.

The easiest method would be to accept as fact everything which Tibullus says about himself. J. P. Elder uses this method to reconstruct Messalla's expedition into Aquitania.¹ Tibullus, however, never explicitly states that he is writing autobiography instead of using an autobiographical technique. Moreover, as Archibald W. Allen points out, "Roman writers from Catullus to Ausonius do actually contend that the poet's life and his work must be kept separate."² After citing quotations from Catullus, Ovid, Martial, and Apuleius, Allen concludes,

This doctrine has been constantly repeated; erotic poetry, though its form may be personal, cannot be taken as an indication of the conduct of the writer. This does not mean that erotic poets were never in love, but

¹J. P. Elder, "Tibullus, Ennius, and the Blue Loire," Transactions of the American Philological Association, XCVI (1965), pp. 98-99.

²Archibald W. Allen, "Sunt Qui Propertium Malint," in Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Elegy and Lyric, ed. by John Patrick Sullivan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 118-119.

it does mean that classical literary doctrine did not assume any specific and normal connexion between personal poetry and the actual experience of the poet.¹

If the poet, then at times incorporates biographical material in his work, it seems reasonable to attempt to separate fact from fiction in order to sketch a true portrait of the poet. Historical texts and references to the author in other literary works should provide the necessary background information. Unfortunately, this approach poses problems because very little is known about Tibullus. An anonymous life has survived along with an epigram of Domitius Marsus.² The life reveals 1) that Tibullus' nomen was Albius, 2) he was some kind of eques (a crux follows the word),³ 3) that he thought highly of Corvinus Messalla (another crux after Messalla's name makes the exact meaning of the clause unintelligible),⁴ 4) that he was Messalla's contubernalis in the Aquitanian War, 5) that he was granted military honors, 6) that he wrote elegies, and 7) that he died while still an adulescens. The epigram, which precedes the anonymous life

¹Allen, p. 120.

²See Kirby Flower Smith, The Elegies of Albius Tibullus: The Corpus Tibullianum Edited with Introduction and Notes on Books I, II, and IV, 2-14 (New York: American Book Company, 1913), p. 173.

³See the apparatus criticus of Fridericus Waltharius Lenz, Albii Tibulli Aliorumque Carminum Libri Tres (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 159.

⁴Lenz, p. 159.

in the manuscripts, reiterates the fact that Tibullus died young. In one of his poems, Ovid relates that Tibullus was survived by his mother and a sister.¹ Other references to Tibullus in Roman literature yield no other significant biographical details.

Because so few facts are known, much conjecture must be involved in any attempt to develop a biography from the poems of Tibullus. Working with facts known about Tibullus' life, with historical facts, and with the information given in Tibullus' elegies, various scholars have tried to establish a chronology for Tibullus' poems.² Though their arguments and conclusions prove interesting, none can definitely be shown to be correct. Likewise, the date of Tibullus' death cannot be pinpointed. Most investigations into this problem are based on Domitius Marsus' statement,

Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,
mors iuvenem campos misit ad Elysios,

and on allusions to Vergil's Aeneid in Tibullus' elegies.³

1

Ovid, Amores III.9, lines 50-51.

2

See, for example, Walter Wimmel, Der frühe Tibull (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1968) and T. McLoughlin, "Nunc ad bella trahor..." Tibullus I, x, 13," Latomus, XXV (1966), pp. 287-290.

3

See, for example, William T. Avery, "The Year of Tibullus' Death," Classical Journal, LV (1960), pp. 205-209; Harry C. Schnur, "When Did Tibullus Die?" Classical Journal, LVI (1961), pp. 227-229; William T. Avery, "Tibullus' Death Again," Classical Journal, LVI (1961), pp. 229-233; Donald Norman Levin, "The Alleged Date of Tibullus' Death," Classical Journal, LXII (1967), pp. 311-314; and M.J. McGann, "The Date of Tibullus' Death," Latomus XXIX (1970), pp. 774-780.

As a result of the large amount of conjecture involved, studies based on tentative biographies resulting from attempts to separate fact from fiction in the poems of Tibullus are somewhat unreliable.

Even less certain are studies of Tibullus and his personality which depend upon the unproven identification of Tibullus with the Albius whom Horace mentions in Odes I.33, Epistles I.4, and Sermones I.4 (if each of these people is the same person).¹

Least certain because of the degree of subjectivity involved would be studies based on M. L. Clarke's two criteria for separating fact from fiction in works of the Latin love poets:

- 1 If a poem closely follows a literary model and has no specific reference to the writer's own circumstances we can reasonably assume that it is not based on experience. If it is wholly or partly independent of any source, and includes reference to the writer's circumstances, we are justified in assuming it to be based on reality.
- 2 Where all is made clear, one suspects that there is a strong element of fiction. Where the writer alludes to people or situations without thoroughly explaining them, writes in fact more for himself or a circle of friends than for the general reader, there is a

¹See, for example, Michael C. J. Putnam, "Horace and Tibullus," Classical Philology, LXVII (1972), pp. 81-88. For arguments for and against the identification of Tibullus with the Albius of Horace, see Berthold Louis Ullman, "Horace and Tibullus," American Journal of Philology, XXXIII (1912), pp. 149-167; J. P. Postgate, "Albius and Tibullus," American Journal of Philology, XXXIII (1912), pp. 450-455; and Berthold Louis Ullman, "Rejoinder to Mr. Postgate," American Journal of Philology, XXXIII (1912), pp. 456-460.

presumption that he is writing of his own experiences.¹

Harold C. Gotoff is, in reality, employing Clarke's first set of criteria when he suggests that the irony in Tibullus' elegies results from Tibullus' presentation of a series of characters adopted from different literary genres.²

To summarize, the biographical approach to the elegies of Tibullus would produce a sketch of the author which would be probable and, to a certain extent, reliable but which would not be completely trustworthy. Moreover, as H. F. Cherniss points out,

Since the human individual is not a mechanical combination of events and influences, no reconstruction, however complete, of the external incidents of a man's life can reproduce or reveal the essence of the man himself.³

A study of Augustan influence on a theoretical portrait would certainly rest on an unstable basis.

¹M. L. Clarke, "Latin Love Poets and the Biographical Approach," Greece and Rome, XXIII (1976), pp. 132-139.

²Harold C. Gotoff, "Tibullus: Nunc Levis est Tractanda Venus," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, LXXVIII (1974), pp. 246-251. Although the persona of Tibullus may at times show characteristics of literary types in other genres, I feel that Tibullus portrays himself as one character throughout his elegies--a character whom the reader is expected to come to know and with whom he is to be sympathetic. Without a central character (one literary persona), the elegies of Tibullus would be merely a series of poetic showpieces. If that is the case, why would Tibullus wish to use the first person throughout?

³H. F. Cherniss, "Me ex Versiculis Meis Parum Pudicum," in Critical Essays on Roman Literature, ed. by John Patrick Sullivan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 25.

As a result, the best way to determine whether Augustan attitudes influenced Tibullus seems to be to work with the literary persona of Tibullus--Tibullus as he presents himself in his poems. It is important to remember that an author's literary persona is a created figure not necessarily identical with the author. As M. M. Liberman and Edward E. Foster point out,

In a way, whenever anyone speaks through a literary creation, he does so through a created self which is only a more or less accurate representation of his full personality. To speak of the so-called 'effective author' or the 'author for all practical purposes' does not imply that the views of the author and persona are necessarily different--as they are in satire--but only that they need not be identical.¹

Hence, the attitudes of the historical Tibullus may or may not correspond to those of his literary persona. If, however, the persona possesses Augustan attitudes, it may be concluded that the historical Tibullus was touched in some way by the ideology of Augustus, regardless of his own personal feelings toward the princeps.

In studying the persona of Tibullus it will be necessary to take literally what the persona says about himself in each poem--to believe, for example, that he is actually ill and in Phaeacia while writing Elegy I.3. Facts known about the historical person may not be assumed to be true with regard to his persona. For example, there is evidence that

¹M. M. Liberman and Edward E. Foster, A Modern Lexicon of Literary Terms (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1968), p. 89.

Tibullus belonged to the literary circle of Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus, but his persona does not speak of Messalla as his literary patron although he mentions him several times.

Each chapter of this dissertation will consist of 1) a brief presentation of an attitude encouraged or, at least, approved of by Augustus and the writers in the literary circle favored by him and 2) a thorough, poem-by-poem investigation of whether the persona of Tibullus held the same attitude. If Augustan influence is found, it may be concluded that the historical Tibullus, no matter what his personal political feelings were, was, at least, attuned to some of the aims of Augustus and his regime.

CHAPTER II

WAR AND PEACE: AUGUSTUS

The Res Gestae of Augustus begins with a reference to war. Augustus relates that as a mere youth he was able to raise an army--not, however, for destructive purposes but to save his country:

Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, per quem rem publicam a dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi (Res Gestae I).¹

His other reference to war² likewise indicate his professed belief that he had engaged in warfare only when he feared some internal or foreign danger and that he had spared as many as he could. As the following passage shows, Augustus often writes of his military achievements in such a way as to emphasize his role as restorer of peace:

Gallias et Hispanias provincias item Germaniam qua claudit Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis pacavi. Alpes a regione ea quae proxima est Hadriano mari, ad Tuscum pacari feci nulli genti bello per iniuriam inlato (Res Gestae XXVI).

¹Except where noted otherwise, all quotations from the Res Gestae are from Henrica Malcovati, ed., Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta (Mediolani: In aedibus Io. Bapt. Paraviae et Sociorum, 1962).

²See Res Gestae III, IV, XXV, and XXIX.

In his biography of Augustus, Suetonius states,

Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit tantumque a fuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent (Divus Augustus XXI).

Relating Augustus' final injunctions to Tiberius and the Roman people, Dio Cassius writes,

γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθέλῃσαι· δυσφύλακτον τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ κινδυνεύσειν ἐκ τοῦτου καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπολέσαι ἔφη. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως ἀεὶ ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε· παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκλήσασθαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε (Roman History. LVI. 34).

Augustus also insisted that his soldiers act properly:

στρατιώτας τε τοσοῦτους ἀθανάτους πρὸς τὸ προπολεμεῖν ὑμῶν τρέφων οὐδενὶ τῶν σφετέρων λυπηροῦς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ὀθνεῖον φύλακας φοβερωτάτους, πρὸς δὲ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀόπλους ἀπολέμους εἶναι παρεσκεύασε (Roman History. LVI. 40).

Moreover, Suetonius relates that Augustus disliked rash commanders. He adds, "Proelium quidem aut bellum suscipiendum omnino negabat, nisi cum maior emolumenti spes quam damni metus ostenderetur (Divus Augustus XXV)." H. H.

Scullard points out that Augustus in his reformation of the army created a professional fighting force which was loyal to the central government rather than to an individual commander.¹

¹H. H. Scullard, From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68 (London: Methuen and Company, 1959), p. 231.

Though he engaged in warfare only when it seemed necessary to him, Augustus took pride in his own military distinctions, which he mentions in his Res Gestae:

Bis ovans triumphavi et tris egi curulis triumphos et appellatus sum viciens et semel imperator decernente pluris triumphos mihi senatu quibus omnibus supersedi. Laurum de fascibus deposui in Capitolio votis, quae quoque bello nuncupaveram, solutis (Res Gestae IV).

G. Karl Galinsky point outs, "in Augustus' eyes the triumph had extraordinary significance and...is an outstanding Augustan theme."¹ He relates that Augustus revived some of the ancient religious rituals connected with the triumph² and that he made the triumph a very special privilege by granting it more and more infrequently until only the heir apparent to the princeps was entitled to an actual celebration.³

Despite his involvement with war, one of Augustus' professed primary aims was to bring peace to the Roman Empire.⁴ Augustus first ended the civil strife which had

¹G. Karl Galinsky, "The Triumph Theme in Augustan Elegy," Weiner Studien, LXXXII (1969), p. 77.

²Galinsky, p. 76.

³Galinsky, p. 77.

⁴Augustus' promotion of both war and peace has been noted by modern historians. For example, Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p. 470, comments, "Pax Augusta could not be dissociated from Victoria Augusti," He adds that the altar of Pax Augusta and the temple of Mars Ultor symbolize the two aspects of Augustus' policy. After pointing out that on three occasions Augustus closed the gate of the arches of Janus to mark the restoration of peace to the empire, Chester Starr,

plagued Rome for so long a time and then turned to setting the Empire in order. It is interesting to note that in the Res Gestae the verb pacare is used both in reference to clearing the sea of pirates¹ and to conquering barbarian nations.² Chapter XIII of the Res Gestae reveals Augustus' greatest accomplishment in regard to peace:

Civilization and the Caesars: The Intellectual Revolution in the Roman Empire (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 40, states, "To the Roman nobles pax was also a dynamic concept involving constant expansion and pacification of the Roman domain; peace was gained by war, which was a natural part of life. The armies and fleets of the Empire were busy throughout most of Augustus' reign on the frontiers." Concerning Augustan coinage, he writes, "The military and diplomatic triumphs of the reign are quite frankly emphasized-- Actium, the conquest of Egypt, the recovery of the Roman standards lost to Parthia in the defeat of Crassus and two later generals, the domination of Armenia, and to a lesser extent the victories on the northern frontier. Augustan peace is clearly not a craven matter (pp. 46-47)." See also Syme, pp. 303-304; M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 52; Henry Thompson Rowell, Rome in the Augustan Age (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 212; Meyer Reinhold, The Golden Age of Augustus (Toronto: Samuel Stevens, and Co., 1978), p. x; and G. Zampaglione, The Idea of Peace in Antiquity, translated by Richard Dunne (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1973), pp. 152-156.

¹Res Gestae, XXV. This is really a reference to the Civil War. Augustus is alluding to the victory over Sextus Pompeius, one of his political opponents who had been blockading the Italian coasts. About Augustus' choice of words, E. G. Hardy, ed., The Monumentum Ancyranum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 111, comments,

That Pompey, as suggested by Ferrero, was supported by Italian sympathy, as representing the free republic, is highly improbable in view of the hardships caused by the blockade, and Augustus had some justification for describing the war as one against pirates rather than as a branch of the Civil War.

²Res Gestae, XXVI.

Ianum Quirinum quem claussem [sic] esse maiores voluerunt, cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum prius quam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit (Res Gestae XIII).

Throughout the work, Augustus speaks of settlement of veterans in colonies. This action was part of his program for securing peace. Edward T. Salmon points out that after the battle of Actium the princeps

removed the prevailing military atmosphere. The temple of Janus was ceremoniously closed. It was his desire to convince men that normal, civilian life had returned... Obtaining land for his veterans either by purchase or by mulcting communities which had supported Antony, Octavian began a large-scale demobilization. In the year 30 he found himself at the head of a huge army numbering some sixty legions. Within a few years these had been reduced to twenty-eight. Over 100,000 of his veterans were paid their gratuities in full and then disbanded. For the most part they were sent to old and new colonies either in Italy or in the provinces.¹

M. P. Charlesworth observes that the sites of the colonies were carefully chosen both to meet the claims of the soldiers and to keep in check the mountainous and wilder regions.²

Reflecting Augustus' attitudes, the writers in the

¹Edward T. Salmon, A History of the Roman World from 30 B.C. to A.D. 138 (London: Methuen and Company, 1944), p. 3.

²M. P. Charlesworth, "The Triumph of Octavian: The First Citizen," in The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. X: The Augustan Empire, ed. by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), p. 120. During triumvirate, Octavian, given the task of securing land for veterans, had employed a policy of confiscation which had very serious consequences. See Syme, pp. 207-212.

literary circle which he favored¹ view war as a necessary evil. Vergil, Horace, and Propertius extol the bravery

¹The literary circle favored by Augustus was that of Gaius Cilnius Maecenas. Vergil, Horace, and Propertius, whose works lent support to the aims of the princeps, belonged to this group. On the cooperation of Maecenas with Augustus, see "Maecenas," Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Alterumwissenschaft, Vol. XIV, Part I (1928), p. 218; J. Wright Duff, A Literary History of Rome: From the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age, ed. by A. M. Duff (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), pp. 446-447; and H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature: From the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Augustine (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1960), p. 240.

Tibullus belonged to the literary circle of Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus. Noting that two factors--the resignation of Messalla from the office of praefectus urbis on the grounds that it involved incivillis potestas and the silence of Tibullus on Augustus--have caused modern historians to speculate that Messalla and the members of his literary circle were completely opposed to the princeps, Starr, p. 198, comments,

Such an argument pushes silence farther than it can safely be construed. Messalla Corvinus undoubtedly felt that the position of 'first citizen' must have its limits, but that was the very attitude Augustus tried to take; and this great noble was quite willing to serve in a variety of other capacities under Augustus--it was he who eventually proposed the title pater patriae for Augustus in 2 B.C. Several literary figures who praised Augustus, including not only Valgius Rufus and Ovid in later days but also Horace himself, had connections with Messalla Corvinus.

Again, Tibullus was not completely devoid of appreciation for certain aspects of the Augustan Age.

Michael C. J. Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), p. 8, points out that a passage of Tacitus (Annals IV. 34) serves as proof that Messalla continually voiced his republican sympathies "without in the least incurring Augustus' wrath." In addition, Duff, p. 449, observes that Domitius Marsus belonged to "Augustus' literary set" and that he "made another link between it and the Messalla set by lamenting in an epigram that the death of Tibullus had followed hard upon that of Vergil."

and might of outstanding military men both past and contemporary. Each mentions triumphs. Yet, each also expresses a longing for peace and peaceful activities. About Horace, Kenneth J. Pratt says,

In one ode, the poet points out in the noblest of language the need for youth trained in the arts of war (...3.2.1-8). But in another poem he chides a fellow Roman for leaving the life of a student of philosophy for the inferior life of a soldier.¹

Gordon Williams comments that in lines 53-60 of the Carmen Saeculare Horace describes the achievements of the Augustan regime.² Both war and peace are mentioned in this passage:

iam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus Albanasque timet secures,
iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi
nuper et Indi.

iam Fides et Pax et Honor Pudorque
priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
audet, apparetque beata pleno
copia cornu.

Vergil sees the greatest talent of the Romans, the art of ruling, as dependent on both war and peace:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
parcere subjectis et debellare superbos (Aeneid IV,
lines 851-853).

The same ambivalent attitude toward war and peace occurs in Propertius. In Elegy IV.6, Propertius first describes Phoebus encouraging Augustus to fight at Actium:

¹Kenneth J. Pratt, "Roman Anti-Militarism," Classical Journal, II (1955), p. 24.

²Gordon Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 59.

...O longa mundi servator ab Alba,
 Auguste, Hectoreis cognite maior avis,
 vince mari: iam terra tua est; tibi militat arcus
 et favet ex umeris hoc onus omne meis (lines 37-40).

After describing the battle, Propertius says,

bella satis cecini: citharam iam poscit Apollo
 victor et ad placidos exiit arma choros (lines 69-70).

In conclusion, the three major poets in the literary circle of Augustus--Horace,¹ Vergil,² and Propertius³--reject the military as a way of life for themselves. They are anxious for a peaceful existence for themselves and their nation. Yet, at times they describe military exploits and praise good warriors. Moreover, Horace, Vergil, and Propertius reveal a familiarity with and perhaps a fascination for certain aspects of warfare by the employment of the literary figure militia amoris.⁴ L. Alfonsi points out that Propertius and Tibullus tend "mostrare la vita d'amore quasi una specie di milizia «sui generis», ma milizia di pace, lungi da pericoli."⁵

¹See Pratt, p. 24.

²See F. H. Cowles, "Vergil's Hatred of War," The Classical Journal, XXIX (Feb. 1934), pp. 357-374.

³See Pratt, p. 23.

⁴See Horace, Odes III.15, lines 8-10, and Odes IV.1, lines 1-2; Vergil, Aeneid IV, lines 93-95, and Eclogues X, line 69; Propertius IV.1, line 137, and II.14, lines 23-24.

⁵L. Alfonsi, "Il Pensiero della Pace nell' Elegia Latina," La Scuola Cattolica, XVII (1945), p. 65. For a discussion of militia amoris in Tibullus and a brief history of the figure, see P. Murgatroyd, "Militia Amoris and the Roman Elegists," Latomus, XXXIV (1975), pp. 59-79.

WAR AND PEACE: TIBULLUS

To compare the attitude of Tibullus toward war and peace with that of Augustus and the literary circle which he favored, it will be necessary to determine what Tibullus says about these concepts in each of his poems. In the opening of the first elegy of Book I, Tibullus seems to be simply expressing a preference for poverty over wealth:

Divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro
et teneat culti iugera multa soli
quem labor assiduus vicino terreat hoste,
Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent;
me mea paupertas vita traducat inertī,
dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus (lines 1-6).¹

A closer reading, however, reveals that he prefers poverty only since it allows him freedom from the troubles of military service. Understanding of the passage depends to a large extent on the interpretation of the word labor in line 3. Though agreeing that labor has a military connotation here, Kirby Flower Smith and C. G. Heyne hold differing views as to its exact meaning. Smith maintains that labor refers to military activities such as foraging,

¹All quotations from Tibullus in this dissertation are taken from Kirby Flower Smith, The Elegies of Albius Tibullus: The Corpus Tibullianum Edited with Introduction and Notes on Books I, II, IV, 2-14 (New York: American Book Company, 1913).

digging trenches, and fortifying camps; while Heyne believes that it means danger. The latter comments,

Sensus omnino hic est: Paret alius sibi aurum et agros per militiae praemia et praedam; id quod fit, dum in molesta militia versatur, et modo assidente castris hoste, perpetuo terrore agitur, modo, ubi tranquille obdormit, signis militaribus excitatur. Ergo labor...pro periculo dictus accipiendus est.¹

Putnam, because of the choice of assiduus which he sees to have a quasi-military overtone from assideo, would probably implicitly interpret labor to mean activity relating to a seige.² J. M. Fisher finds in lines 1-6 of the elegy an "opposition of two ways of life"³ --life in peace and life in war. He feels that this opposition is elaborated on throughout the rest of the poem: lines 1-52 compare the life of the soldier with that of the farmer, while lines 53-78 compare the life of the soldier with that of the lover, Tibullus being both farmer and lover. It should be noted that Tibullus is not totally opposed to war. He rejects the military lifestyle for himself but does not condemn it as a way of life for all others. On the contrary,

1

See Smith, p. 185, note 3, and C. G. Heyne, Albii Tibulli Carmina Libri Tres Cum Libro Quarto Sulpiciae et Aliorum (Lipsiae: Johannem Gottlob Weindium, 1798), p. 2, note 3.4.

2

Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 50, note 3-4. See also "assiduus," Oxford Latin Dictionary, edited by A. Souter, J. M. Wyllie, C. O. Brink, et alii, Fascicle I (1968), p. 188. For additional interpretations of labor, see J. Crescente, "Tibulliana," Emerita, VIII (1940), pp. 99-105.

3

J. M. Fisher, "The Structure of Tibullus' First Elegy," Latomus, XXIX (1970), p. 767.

in lines 53-56, Tibullus states that it is entirely appropriate for Messalla to wage war and seek military glory.

For himself, Tibullus desires the peaceful existence necessary to operate a small farm and to devote as much time as possible to his love. Fisher finds that in talking of his desired lifestyle, Tibullus never allows the reader to forget the way of life which he is avoiding:

So, the description of the farmer's life is accompanied by a kind of counterpoint, now heard (as in the mention of the viae in v. 26 and 52) now unheard. Thus, the ease of the farmer in extreme weather points to the hardships faced by the soldier, and the 'rightness' and piety of the rural life point to the moral disease of the military life, which is based on avarice.¹

Moreover, Guy Lee suggests that throughout the poem Tibullus uses words which had a special meaning in re militari, the exact military sense of which often eludes the modern reader.² Even in speaking of love, Tibullus uses military terms:

Hic ego dux milesque bonus: vos, signa tubaeque,
ite procul, cupidis vulnera ferte viris (lines 75-76).

In the above passage Tibullus compares himself to a good soldier. He thus indicates an admiration for some soldierly qualities, but, of course, in reference to the militia amoris. If the opening poem can be taken as pro-

¹

Fisher, p. 771.

²

Guy Lee, "Otium cum Indignitate: Tibullus I.I" in Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry, ed. by T. Wood and D. West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), passim, pp. 106-110.

grammatic, the Augustan theme of war and peace can be expected to be an important one in Tibullus.

There is one specific reference to war in Elegy I.2:

Ferreus ille fuit qui, te cum posset habere,
maluerit praedas stultus et arma sequi.
ille licet Cilicum victas agat ante catervas,
ponat et in capto Martia castra solo,
totus et argento contextus, totus et auro,
insideat celeri conspiciendus equo (lines 65-70).

In this passage Tibullus does not condemn war or the quest for military glory and rewards. In fact, lines 67-70 of Elegy I.2 present a striking picture of a military commander in action and at rest.¹ Tibullus, however, prefers love to military glory. Heyne explains,

sensus poetae est: Nullum sensum habet, qui te
relicta militiam sequi velit, ut inde rem augeat; 2
licet illi fortuna quam maxime propitia favensque fit.

David F. Bright notes that military imagery is combined with the image of the exclusus amator in Elegy I.2. He observes,

The opening lines are marked by military language:

Adde merum vinoque novos compesce dolores,
occupet ut fessi lumina victa sopor;
neu quisquam multo percussum tempora baccho
excitet, infelix dum requiescit amor.
nam posita est nostrae custodia saeva puellae,
clauditur et dura ianua firma sera. (I-6)

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary: p. 70, senses an implied criticism of the soldier as a despicable object. This interpretation seems to detract from the point which Tibullus is making--one should be willing to forego military glory, no matter how attractive it may be, for one's love.

²Heyne, p. 19.

Delia's house is in effect a city to be stormed or taken by guile.¹

Bright also points out that Tibullus again suggests a siege when he invokes thunder and lightning to batter the door of his love (line 7-8).²

Elegy I.3 is the only poem written from the point of view of a soldier on campaign. It expresses the reluctance of Tibullus to be left behind while ill. He hopes that his commander and the members of the cohort will not forget him:

Ibitis Aegaeas sine me, Messalla, per undas
O utinam memores ipse cohorsque mei (lines 1-2).

Moreover, he hopes that, if he dies, he will be remembered among men as a devoted soldier:

quod si fatales iam nunc explevimus annos,
fac lapis inscriptis stet super ossa notis:
'hic iacet immitti consumptus morte Tibullus,
Messallam terra dum sequiturque mari (lines 53-56).'³

Tibullus reveals that he joined the expedition out of a sense of duty but not without wishing that something would have prevented his setting forth. He confesses that he, anxious, had actually sought delays, stating as a pretext

¹David Bright, Haec Mihi Fingebam: Tibullus in his World (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), pp. 135-136.

²Bright, Haec Mihi Fingebam: Tibullus in his World, p. 138. Concerning the possibility of a military tone in "fortes adiuvat ipsa Venus (line 16)," see p. 139, footnote 36, of Bright's book.

³Line 56 may also mean that Tibullus has been faithful to Messalla, his literary patron and friend. However, Messalla has been mentioned neither as literary patron nor as a friend thus far. Elegy I described him only as an individual fit for war.

that the birds had given bad omens or that he could not depart on a holy day or that he had tripped in the doorway, another bad sign. He indicates his personal feelings toward warfare when he looks back wistfully to a former age:

quam bene Saturno vivebant rege, prius quam
tellus in longas est patefacta vias...(lines 35-36).

non acies, non ira fuit, non bella, nec ensem
immiti saevus duxerat arte faber.
nunc Iove sub domino caedes et vulnera semper,
nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae (lines 47-50).

Moreover, he prays that whoever violated his love and wished for him long military campaigns will go to the abode of the wicked after death.

The attempt to forestall going off to war, abandonment in Phaeacia, great eagerness to return home to one's love and wishes for the death of her suitors are characteristic of another soldier often mentioned in the literature of the Augustan age--Odysseus. Bright maintains,

Tibullus can be said to assume the identity of Odysseus throughout the poem, and to express his own situation through parallels (real or imagined) between himself and Odysseus.¹

Bright, who carefully analyzes Elegy I.3, suggests many parallels between the Tibullan poem and the Odyssey including those mentioned above.² However many of the parallels one

¹David F. Bright, "A Tibullan Odyssey," Arethusa, IV (1971), p. 198.

²See Bright, "A Tibullan Odyssey," pp. 197-206. Bright theorizes that Tibullus is presenting himself as an anti-thesis as well as a parallel to Odysseus. He says, "Tibullus has chosen one of the great heroes and taken upon himself

accepts, Tibullus is obviously comparing himself to a model soldier. He is also indicating his familiarity with the epic tradition which lay behind so much of Augustan literature.

Writing from the point of view of a soldier, Tibullus even speaks of lovemaking in Elysium in military terms--"et adsidue proelia miscet Amor (line 64)."

Although Tibullus uses words which are often associated with war, such as pugno, capto, and agmen and also employs the metaphor of militia amoris in Elegies I.4 - I.6, these poems do not provide further insight into Tibullus' attitude toward war and peace.

In Elegy I.7, Tibullus claims a share of Messalla's military glory: "non sine me est tibi partus honor (line 9)." This line has been interpreted in two ways. One explanation is that Tibullus took part in the expedition as a soldier.¹ Another interpretation, proposed by Jacob Hammer, is that "the word honor need not refer to military exploits

that hero's identity, only to turn the entire world it inhabits inside out. The values are completely reversed. Travel and war lead not to glory but to decline, to suffering and to pointless death. Martial glory is not to be sought but to be avoided (p. 207)." See also Bright's expansion of his article in Haec Mihi Fingebam: Tibullus in his World, pp. 16-37. If the poem is a propemptikon to Messalla as Smith, p. 232, and Bright himself, "A Tibullan Odyssey," p. 198, state, it seems hardly appropriate that he should bid farewell to his commander with a rejection of the man's values.

¹Scholars who accept this interpretation include Smith, p. 35; Heyne, p. 65; and Georg Luck, The Latin Love Elegy (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1969), p. 71.

of Tibullus, but can be explained as a reference to a poetical contribution by the poet to Messalla's fame."¹

In whatever way one understands the line, Tibullus is associating himself with military distinction here. Moreover, Elegy I.7 was written to celebrate Messalla's triumph for his victory over the Aquitanians as well as his birthday.

Tibullus' first compliment to Messalla as a great military leader is hidden in the opening lines:

Hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes
stamina non ulli dissoluenda deo (lines 1-2).

Several scholars have noted the similarity of these lines to Catullus, IXIV, line 383; "Carmina divino recinerunt pectore Parcae."² Julia Haig Gaisser points out the significance.³ It is, she maintains, an implied comparison of Achilles and Messalla intended to please Messalla. She feels that Catullus⁴ is again imitated and that the same comparison is hinted at when Tibullus mentions rivers witnessing Messalla's exploits, for the Scamander witnessed Achilles' deeds. Elder suggests that Tibullus, through the use of the phrase flavi caerula (lines 12), compared Messalla

¹Jacob Hammer, "Tibullus I.7.9," The Classical Weekly, XX (February 28, 1927), p. 128.

²See, for example, Robert J. Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7," especially footnote 2, p. 730.

³Julia Haig Gaisser, "Tibullus I.7: A Tribute to Messalla," Classical Philology, LXVI (1971), p. 223.

⁴Cf. Catullus, IXIV, lin 657.

to the Roman general Lucius Aemilius (thus indirectly complimenting Messalla); for Ennius had used the phrase flavo caeruleum in a passage in his epic which described Aemilius' famous victory at Myonnesus.¹ More credence is given to the theories of Gaisser and Elder by the fact that various scholars have detected an epic tone in the passages concerned.²

Explicit praise of Messalla's military achievements is contained in lines 3-22. To emphasize the importance of Messalla's victory, Tibullus describes the personified Atax River as trembling at the day which would be able to route the Aquitanians. Then he goes on to present details of the actual triumph. He mentions the crowd,³ the captured leaders, and finally describes Messalla crowned with laurel and riding in an ivory chariot drawn by snowy horses. Galinsky notes that the straightforward treatment of the triumph theme and the eulogizing of Messalla for achieving a triumph are unexpected in one who often condemns military life in strong language.⁴ It is, however, characteristic of Augustan writers to express approval for some aspects of the military

¹Elder, "Tibullus, Ennius and the Blue Loire," p. 104.

²See Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7," pp. 729-730.

³Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 120, note 5-6, points out that pubes is equivalent to populace "with overtones of youth growing to maturity." This interpretation makes Messalla a model soldier for youth to admire and emulate.

⁴Galinsky, p. 77.

and disapproval of others.¹ According to Williams,

It is particularly characteristic of Augustan poetry that geographical names which have a special significance for Romans are used so that the poetic horizon suddenly widens to take in a distant vista of Roman history or a far-off part of the Empire--²bought or not yet bought--at the price of Roman blood.

An example of such usage in Tibullus occurs in lines 9-22 where Tibullus brings forth as witnesses to his share in Messalla's exploits various places on Messalla's campaign route. The epic tone of the passage, which also brings to mind the Augustans, has often been commented upon.³ For example, Lenz felt that the phrase Maris vastum...aequor was reminiscent of Aeneid II, line 780, vastum maris aequor; while Elder pointed out the similarity of Tibullus' flavi caerula to Ennius' flavo caeruleum.⁴

Though concerned with Messalla's military expedition, lines 9-22 also serve as a transition to praise of Messalla's achievement after the establishment of peace. Gaisser, following F. Klingner, states,

The passage begins with the places in Gaul that witnessed Messalla's victories. The tone is dignified and somewhat impersonal. But the geographical shift

¹See pp. 15-16 above.

²Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 369.

³See Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7," pp. 731-732. Ball gives his own feelings about the epic tone of the passage and presents the observations of other scholars including Lenz and Elder.

⁴See above, pp. 25-26 of the text.

in the next lines from west to east is also a shift in mood from the objective to the lyric, from war to peace.¹

Likewise, Tibullus' birthday wish for Messalla,

at tibi succrescat proles quae facta parentis
augeat et circa stet veneranda senem (lines 55-56),

seems to look both backward to Messalla's military distinction and forward to his peacetime accomplishment, the rebuilding of part of a road; for facta is a neutral word. The presentation of the rebuilding of a section of the Via Latina² as a benefit to travellers and farmers paints Messalla as a benefactor to the nation in peace as well as war.

While Elegies I.8 and I.9 refer only to the battles of love, the main theme of Elegy I.10, the last poem of the first book, is war and peace. This elegy, which contains passages reminiscent of elegies throughout Book I, seems to be a summary of Tibullus' thoughts on these subjects. As in Elegy I.3, Tibullus does not wish to go to war but, feels he

¹Gaisser, "Tibullus I.7: A Tribute to Messalla," p. 224. Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7," feels that the whole transitional passage and the hymn to Osiris (which Gaisser, following Rowell, says is a tribute to Messalla's interest in wine) land Messalla as an administrator rather than as a general. See Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7," pp. 733-737, for a discussion of various interpretations of lines 9-48, including his own. The great difference of opinion among scholars at least indicates that in this poem there is a celebration of both wartime and peacetime activities.

²For theories on the identification of the road, see George MacCracken, "Tibullus, Messalla, and the Via Latina," American Journal of Philology LIII (1932), pp. 344-352.

is under some compulsion to do so.¹ Moreover, he accepts war as part of life resulting from greed for gold. Barry B. Powell observes,

The dites despiciam of I.78...finds its counterpart in 'divitis hoc vitium est auri' of 10.7; both phrases occur in antimilitary contexts which find the causes of war in the pursuit after wealth. The conceit of the strife of love contrasted with the strife in arms is also common to both poems.²

At the beginning of the poem, Tibullus attributes the horrors of war to the development of the sword:

Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?
quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!
tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata
tum brevior dirae mortis aperta via est (lines 1-4).³

H. E. Pillinger notes,

The grating 'r' sounds of this opening couplet help to register the poet's disgust, and the word play of ferus/ferreus (2) underlines the inevitable likeness, as Tibullus sees it, between the temper of the weapon and that of its inventor.

In Book I⁵ the only other place in which Tibullus employs

¹The words nunc ad bella trahor (lines 13) seem to indicate that Tibullus feels some sort of pressure.

²Barry B. Powell, "The Ordering of Tibullus Book 1," Classical Philology, LXIX (1974), p. 109.

³Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 146, note 1-2, points out that the theme of first discoverer is "a common Augustan theme."

⁴H. E. Pillinger, "Tibullus 1.10 and Lucretius," Classical Journal, LXVI (1971), p. 204.

⁵As in Book I, in Book II, ferreus is used once in connection with one who remains apart from his love (Elegy II.3, line 2) and once in connection with love of war and booty (Elegy II.3, line 35).

ferreus is Elegy I.2, line 65, where he is expressing disapproval of one who prefers the acquisition of booty to proximity to his love. The second couplet of the opening of Elegy I.10 is reminiscent of Elegy I.3, lines 49-50, in which Tibullus associates constant warfare with the reign of Jupiter:

nunc Iove sub domino caedes et vulnera semper,
nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae.

In Elegy I.10, as in the former poem, Tibullus wishes that he had lived in a former age (in I.3 identified as the Age of Saturn), when there were no citadels and no ramparts and a shepherd could sleep undisturbed among his sheep.¹ The wish for untroubled sleep and especially the use of the adjective securus brings to mind the passage in Elegy I.1 in which Tibullus describes ideal sleeping conditions:

quam iuvat immites ventos audire cubantem
et dominam tenero continuisse sinu
aut, gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster,
securum somnos imbre iuvante sequi (lines 45-48).²

This passage was used to point out the contrast between the undisturbed sleep of the civilian and the sleep of the soldier, whose dreams are often put to flight by the sound of the trumpet. In Elegy I.10 the same contrast is hinted at

¹Smith, p. 378, note 10, relates that there was an old theory that dux gregis (line 10) referred to a ram rather than a shepherd. He feels that Philippe Martinon effectively disproved this theory.

²Most manuscripts read igne for imbre (line 48). See Lenz, p. 46 and p. 172. The problem has been much discussed.

since, immediately after talking of the shepherd, Tibullus states that, if he had lived in a former age, he would not have heard the sound of the trumpet with a quivering heart. The mention of the shepherd also brings to mind Elegy I.2, in which Tibullus says that, if he could be with Delia, he would prefer to pasture cattle and to sleep on the ground rather than to be an outstanding military commander. As in Elegy I.1 and Elegy I.3, in Elegy I.10 Tibullus rejects the military life for himself but not for others:

...alius sit fortis in armis,
 sternat et adversos Marte favente duces,
 ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta
 miles et in mensa pingere castra mero (lines 29-32).

These lines contain Tibullus' strongest criticism of military men, for they imply that men who would choose such a career tend to be boastful and perhaps slightly mad. A propensity toward roughness is hinted at in lines 65-66, where Tibullus suggests lovers lacking in gentleness join the army.

That Tibullus' criticism does not apply to every soldier is indicated by his reference to the afterlife. On first reading, lines 35-36,

non seges est infra, non vinea culta, sed audax
 Cerberus et Stygiae navita turpis aquae,

seem to contradict the description of the afterlife awaiting Tibullus, a dying soldier, in Elegy I.3:

hic choreae cantusque vigent, passimque vagantes
 dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen aves,
 fert casiam non culta seges, totosque per agros
 floret odoratis terra benigna rosis (lines 59-62).

A second look, however, suggests that Tibullus is describing the abode of the wicked, for in Elegy I.3, line 13, Cerberus is the guard at the door of the seat of the wicked. Therefore, Tibullus is not condemning all soldiers here--only those with some moral flaw--perhaps, in view of line 7, greed.

The transition from military to farm life is cleverly accomplished by the employment of laudandus est. J. P. Postgate comments, "there is an allusion to the application of laus, laudare to military services. How much worthier of being 'decorated' (as we might say) is the man of peace than the soldier."¹ Laudandus est also reminds the reader of Tibullus' praise for Messalla as a good soldier throughout Book I, especially in the seventh poem, and his own complimentary military epitaph in the third poem--passages which show a favorable attitude toward the military.

When Tibullus thinks about ideal living conditions, he realizes that peace, at least within his native land, is necessary for the type of life which he desires. Tibullus' lines on peace in Elegy I.10 constitute one of his best and most famous passages:

interea Pax arva colat. Pax candida primum
duxit araturos sub iuga curva boves:
Pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae,
funderet ut nato testa paterna merum:

¹J. P. Postgate, ed., Selections from Tibullus and Others (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1929), p. 103. note 39.

pace bidens vomerque nitent, at tristia duri
militis in tenebris cōcupat arma situs (lines 45-50).

Pillinger comments,

In line 45f. the poem reaches its stylistic and emotional high point with an earnest evocation of the blessings of peace throughout the land. Anaphora of the key word pax contributes to the tone of solemn prayer and gives these verses...a hymnlike quality.¹

He finds in these lines an echo of Lucretius' invocation to Venus at the beginning of the De Rerum Natura. He also suggests that Tibullus' abrupt transition from praise of peace to a description of Venus' wars may have been inspired by the Lucretian image of Venus sensuously begging Mars for peace.² R. J. Littlewood points out that Tibullus' exhortation to lovers to either refrain from roughness or to join the army leads unobstrusively back to his main theme--war and peace.³ Tibullus ends Elegy I.10 with an invocation to peace (personified and given the epitaph "nourishing") to come bringing grain and fruit, symbols of agricultural prosperity:

at nobis, Pax alma, veni spicamque teneto
perfluat et pomis candidus ante sinus (lines 67-68).

Thus, the first book of Tibullus concludes with an idea found often in the earlier works of writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus--a longing for peace, not neces-

¹Pillinger, p. 205.

²Pillinger, p. 206.

³R. J. Littlewood, "The Symbolic Structure of Tibullus Book I," Latomus, XXIX (1970), p. 668.

sarily total peace in a political sense (though that would be ideal) but, in Friedrich Solmsen's words, "the condition in which agriculture flourishes and in which the possibility of a happy life in the country can become a reality."¹

Elegy I.10, is, in fact, an outright statement of what Tibullus has been hoping for throughout the first book. Previously, however, his desire was expressed indirectly in his descriptions of an ideal life with his mistress whether in the city or in the country, in his reflections at Corcyra, and even in his references to Messalla, whom he wishes to entertain at his country estate and whose praises he sings because of the honor Messalla has earned by ending war in part of the world. It is especially interesting to note that Tibullus uses the word pax, in its literal sense,² five times (including in the anaphora mentioned above) in Elegy I.10, but he uses it nowhere else in his poetry.³ Nevertheless, as Solmsen points out,

Tibullus is for our knowledge the first of the Augustan

¹Friedrich Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," Hermes, XC (1962), p. 298.

²The expression, pace tua, which is equivalent to "with your permission," is found in Elegy II.5, line 105.

³Edward N. O'Neil, A Critical Concordance of the Tibullan Corpus (New York: American Philological Association, 1963), p. 231. T. McLoughlin, "Nunc ad bella trahor... Tibullus I, x, 13," Iatomus, XXV (1966), p. 287, observes that the word bellum occurs more often in Elegy I.10 than in any other of Tibullus' elegies. The frequency of the words pax and bellum in the poem once again suggests a close connection between war and peace.

poets, and may well be the first of all Roman poets, who gave the idea of pax a place in poetry...In I.10 the call for Pax and her blessings emerges in the most natural fashion conceivable from the opposition between warfare and the quiet life on the farm--an opposition which the poet has kept before us from the first line of the elegy.¹

In regard to Tibullus as an Augustan, Michael Grant notes,

What impressed Tibullus about the new regime was that it brought peace. That is why other Augustan poets, too, welcomed the Principate. But Tibullus more than any of them is a poet of peace.²

The peace which Tibullus had hoped for throughout Book I seems to have come to pass in Book II. The first elegy concerns a country festival at which there is to be prayer, celebration, and no work. Acting as a priest, Tibullus asks the gods of his native land to grant agricultural prosperity and, even though it is not mentioned directly, continuing peace. In line 18, Tibullus prays, "vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus." Because limitibus may refer to either the boundaries of the individual farms or the boundaries of the nation mala may include war. That it probably does is suggested by a line which expresses a desire for perfect peace: "neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos (line 20)."³ Furthermore, coloni in line 23 may serve

¹Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 298.

²Michael Grant, Roman Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 174.

³Compare, for example, Vergil, Eclogue IV, lines 15-25:

Ille deum vitam accipiet, divisque videbit
Permixtos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis;

to bring to mind veterans turned farmers in colonies throughout the empire. The description of happy rustic life in this poem at least recalls the many passages in Book I in which farm life was contrasted to military life and suggests that Tibullus' dreams are about to be fulfilled.

That Tibullus has not lost the admiration for Messalla as a military man which he displayed in Elegy I.7 is indicated by the following lines:

sed 'bene Messallam' sua quisque ad pocula dicat,
nomen et absentis singula verba sonent.
gentis Aquitanae celebr Messalla triumphis
et magna intonsis gloria victor avis,
huc ades aspiraue mihi, dum carmine nostro
redditur agricolis gratia caelitibus (lines 31-36).

It is noteworthy that Tibullus does not mention any of Messalla's peaceful activities. In this passage, as both Postgate¹ and Galinsky² point out, Tibullus addresses Messalla as if he were a god. Galinsky attributes the poet's attitude to the association (made even a closer one by

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem
At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu,
Errantes hederas passim cum baccare tellus,
Mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.
Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
Ubera, nec magnos meutuent armenta leones.
Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.
Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet; Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.

Here the harmony of animals naturally hostile to one another is associated with a state of perfect peace (achieved, however, through past wars as pacatum in line 17 indicates).

¹Postgate, Selections..., p. 107, note 35.

²Galinsky, p. 78.

Augustus) of the triumphator with the gods.¹

In addressing Amor near the end of the poem (lines 81-82), Tibullus requests that he, having put aside his arrows and having hidden his torches, come to the feast, a completely peaceful occasion as shown by the rest of the poem. To summarize, the ambivalence toward war and peace evident in Book I appears again in the first poem of Book II; but peace seems to be established rather than hoped for.

The next elegy which gives an insight into Tibullus' attitude toward war and peace is Elegy II.3. This elegy contains a long passage in which Tibullus condemns booty, the thing that Tibullus says his contemporaries praise instead of Venus. He finds that booty is connected with many evils:

praeda feras acies cinxit discordibus armis;
 hinc cruor, hinc caedes mors propiorque venit.
 praeda vago iussit geminare pericula ponto,
 bellica cum dubiis rostra dedit ratibus (lines 37-40).

Each of the above evils is associated with war. The first couplet seems to be an echo of Elegy I.10, lines 3-4, where Tibullus stated that after the invention of the sword, slaughter (caedes) and battles were born and there was a shorter way of death.² Furthermore, in Elegy I.10 the sword-maker is called fierce (ferus) and iron (ferreus); in Elegy

¹Galinsky, p. 78.

²See p. 30 above for a comparison of Elegy I.10, lines 3-4, and Elegy I.3, lines 49-50.

II.3 the iron (ferrea) ages praise booty which causes fierce (feras) battle lines. Putnam says that discordibus armis is "a Virgilian phrase (Georg. 2.459) which may have specific reference to civil war."¹ Concerning the doubled dangers on the sea, Heyne comments, "periculo ex mari additur periculum ab hoste vel piratis et proelio navali."² In his lines on booty, Tibullus finds the warfare required to obtain the booty distasteful rather than the booty itself. He is, in reality, condemning neither the booty nor the warfare in themselves but the greedy men³ who wish to fight in order to increase their possessions--some desiring land, others, homes featuring large columns or fish ponds built into the sea.⁴ In short, Tibullus objects to bellicose activities for self-enrichment only. In this he was in agreement with Augustus, who had a reputation for not waging war unduly.⁵

As in many of his poems, in Elegy II.3, Tibullus speaks of love in military terms--"quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor (lines 14)." Moreover, as Murgatroyd points out, Tibullus in this poem makes an original contribution to the development of the figure of militia amoris;

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 171, note 41-42.

²Heyne, p. 113, note 39.

³Cf. the beginning of Elegy I.10, esp. line 7.

⁴Lines 41-46 make this point.

⁵See p. 10 above.

for he introduces the image of the camp.¹ Something about military life must have fascinated Tibullus as it did the writers in the circle of Augustus (whose works abound in military themes and imagery) or he would not have used military imagery so often and so innovatively. Williams notes that though Tibullus felt that his military service was a burden, "he made excellent poetical capital out of it, for it presented him with the most deeply felt and widely heard of contrasts: the hard, dangerous life of public service in far-off places and the quiet idyllic life of peace in the fruitful countryside at home."²

Though war imagery is prominent in his poetry, in Elegy II.4 Tibullus rejects the idea of becoming an epic poet:

ite procul, Musae, si non prodestis amanti;
non ego vos, ut sint bella canenda, colo (lines
15-16).

Smith explains the force of ut sint canenda: "not 'to write epic,' which would be ut bella canantur, but the passive periphrastic, 'with the idea that I am to write epic,' 'that epic must be my theme,'"³ Thus, just as Tibullus rejects the military as his lifestyle, so he rejects epic as his

¹Murgatroyd, p. 68.

²Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 559. Williams is speaking of the historical Tibullus, but what he says applies to Tibullus' persona as well.

³Smith, p. 435, note 16.

style of writing. That both the personal rejection of the military lifestyle and the refusal to write epic poetry were acceptable in the circle of Augustus is shown by the writings of Horace and Propertius.¹

Although in Elegy II.4 Tibullus relates that he does not wish to have to sing of battles, in Elegy II.5 he alludes to battles of the type celebrated in epic.² The poem opens with the invocation to Apollo to come to a celebration both wearing the laurel crown of triumph which he wore when he sang of the victory of Jupiter over Saturn and bearing his cithara. Postgate sees special significance in the portrayal of Apollo as Citharoedus³ as well as triumphator. He states,

The change in the god's attire was a matter of no slight moment to Rome. It would mean much if the god whom all Rome saw, probably in the same triumphal procession of B.C.29 in which was carried the waxen figure of Cleopatra and the asp, shooting his arrows against the hosts of his eastern enemy, was to be, as in the veiled warning of one of the 'inspired' odes of Horace, 'numquam umeris positurus arcum.'⁴

Many Tibullan scholars⁵ feel that the laurel crown of Apollo

¹Cf. Horace, Odes I.6, and Propertius, II.1.

²Horace and Propertius also treat of epic themes on occasion, e.g., Horace, Odes I.12, and Propertius, IV.6.

³See Chapter V, p. 168.

⁴J. P. Postgate, "Tibulliana," The Journal of Philology, XXV (1897), pp. 56-57.

⁵See Postgate, Selections..., p. 124, note 5; Smith p. 446, note 5; and Putnam, Tibullus, A Commentary, p. 184, note 5-6.

symbolizes not only the victory of the gods over the Titans but also the victory of Augustus at Actium, for Apollo was Augustus' special patron and was said to have been present at the battle.¹ In support of this theory, Postgate sees a second reference to Actium in the request for Apollo to submerge prodigies under the sea (lines 79-80). He explains, "To the Romans, especially at this time, Egypt was a land of monstrosities."² Furthermore, he believes that a reference to Actium makes more intelligible "the connection of Apollo and the raging main." He comments,

What had the ordinary Apollo, the sun god and god of prophecy and song, to do with the sea? Why should he usurp the province of Neptune? Between the Actian Apollo on the other hand and the indomita aequora the connection is obvious. The fleet of Antony suffered severely in the battle from the heavy seas... and to the favour of the god of Actium, as is well known, the victory was officially inscribed.³

In whatever way one interprets the significance of the image of Apollo as a triumphator, the fact remains that he is presented as deserving of extra honor because of his connection with a military victory. Still, Tibullus is inviting him to contribute his song to a peaceful celebration. Like Apollo, the god into whose service he is entering, Messalinus

¹See Propertius, IV. 6.

²Postgate, Selections..., p. 135, note 80. Smith (p. 471) agrees, citing Propertius, IV.6, and Horace, Odes I.37, lines 9-21, as examples of the Roman attitude toward Egypt in Augustan times.

³Postgate, "Tibulliana," pp. 55-56.

is associated in this poem with both peaceful and bellicose activities. The elegy is written in honor of his becoming a priest, a basically non-military function; yet Tibullus expects to sing his praises again

...cum praemia belli
ante suos currus oppida victa feret,
ipse gerens lauros, lauro devinctus agresti
miles 'io' magna voce 'trumphe' canet (lines 115-118).

The vivid presentation of the outstanding details of the triumphal procession and Tibullus' eagerness to become, as it were, the bard of the actual event disclose an admiration for military achievement on the poet's part. They also recall Tibullus' references to the triumph of Messalla, especially Elegy I.7, line 9, where Tibullus had likewise revealed his pride in his association with a triumphator. The description in Elegy II.5 of Messalla applauding his son as he passes in his triumphal chariot both brings to mind again the description of Messalla in the ivory triumphal chariot in Elegy I.7 and adds to the distinction of Messalinus; for it indicates that he, with the blessing of his father, is carrying on the family tradition of military greatness. Tibullus, then, seems to approve of the triumph, a custom highly valued by Augustus.¹ In his study of Tibullus' references to the triumph, Galinsky concludes,

it is evident that Tibullus takes the triumph theme seriously and treats it with the loftiness which it

¹See p. 12 above.

had been traditionally accorded in Rome...Still, Tibullus never goes as far as to adapt this theme for purposes of love poetry. And lastly, he specifically exempts the triumph from his frequent criticism of war. For instance, whereas he condemns vitium auri (I 10, 7; cf. I 1, 75-78) as the chief reason for war, he extols Messalinus' praemia belli (II 5, 115), i.e. the spectacular pageant of cities to be conquered by him. In nuce, therefore, Tibullus' handling of the triumph theme points up the Zwischenstellung characteristic of the earliest Augustan elegist, who proclaims one way of life--of pax, of the country--without being able to divorce himself de facto from the recognized, political and military way of life.¹

If Tibullus approves of the triumph, he must, of necessity, sanction the fighting required to obtain it and cannot be completely opposed to war. Furthermore, in his summary of the history of Rome in Elegy II.5, Tibullus alludes to the Trojan War and Aeneas' wars in Italy without a word of disapproval. He, however, in the same poem, presents an idyllic picture of Rome at peace before the arrival of Aeneas and asks Apollo for agricultural prosperity and continuing peace (haec fuerant² in line 79 implies that war has ended).

¹Galinsky, pp. 79-80. These remarks apply both to the person and persona of Tibullus.

²The reading here is disputed. Smith has fuerant; Lenz, who gives various readings in his apparatus criticus, has fuerunt. Smith, p. 470, explains the difference between these two readings: "previous to the new regime which at the time of writing had already been an accomplished fact for some time, hence the pluperfect...If the poet had been reckoning from the time of writing fuerunt...would have been used." Heyne and Postgate have fuerint, which Postgate translates "let these be bygones" (Selections..., p. 135, note 79) indicating a wish at the time of writing. In his Oxford text, Tibulli Aliorumque Carminum Libri Tres (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905), Postgate changed his reading to fuerant.

R. J. Ball states that W. Gerressen, on comparing lines 79-104 of this elegy with Vergil's Aeneid I, lines 286-296, found that both passages contain a prophecy of "a transition from war to peace, a peace under Augustus."¹ In discussing Tibullus' social views, A. Cartault concludes that Tibullus' attitude toward peace, especially as expressed in Elegy II.5, is in accord with that of Augustus and the writers in his circle:

il est partisan de la paix, qui fera refleurir l'agriculture; il souhaite, I 10, 45 sqq. qu'elle se rétablisse et, II 5, 83 sqq. il considère la chose comme assurée; il n'a donc pas varié sur ce point. Or Auguste a été l'empereur de la paix; il a mis fin aux guerres civiles; trois fois sous son règne le temple de Janus fut fermé. Cette félicité rustique, qui était l'idéal de Tibulle comme de Virgile, Horace nous la représente réalisée par l'influence bienfaisante de l'empereur. Si de l'Él. II 5, 83 sqq. on rapproche Horace C. IV 5, on constate que la similitude des idées est complète. Horace décrit, comme existant actuellement pour le plus grand bien de la patrie, ce que Tibulle avait désiré et prévu.²

At the beginning of Elegy II.6, Tibullus reveals that Macer has deserted Amor and gone off to war. He first requests the god to punish Macer and to call him back under his standard. Then he decides to become a soldier himself--

¹R. J. Ball, "Tibullus 2.5 and Vergil's Aeneid," Vergilius, XXI (1975), p. 45, commenting on W. Gerressen, Tibullus Elegie 2,5 and Vergils Aeneis (Diss., Cologne, 1970), p. 69. Ball, disagreeing, says that there is only "a general prophecy about rustic prosperity and a specific prophecy about the Palilia." It seems, though, that in order for there to be agricultural prosperity and country festivals, peace is required.

²A. Cartault, Tibulle et les Auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1909), p. 61.

if only Amor will spare him. In these lines there is a reversal of Tibullus' normal attitude toward military service--it appears as something to which rather than from which he wishes to escape. However, this does not necessarily mean that Tibullus likes going on campaign any more than he did before. In explaining that levem aquam in line 8 means a light burden, that is, a little bit, of water, Monroe E. Deutsch comments,

The soldier would of course carry water with him in his helmet only owing to a lack of it in the country through which he marches; he may be going through a desert, or it may be during the summer heat. This intensifies the hardships that the soldier endures, and so the poet is really saying, 'If soldiers escape love's pains, I am willing to become a soldier too, aye even in the midst of the heated desert where I must bear water with me.'¹

Moreover, the image of the soldier carrying water for himself conveys the idea that war is far away from home, where peaceful life goes on as usual, a concept suggested in all of the poems of Book II.

Proposing that the Macer mentioned is Pompeius Macer rather than Aemilius Macer, Edward N. O'Neil interprets Elegy II.6 differently. He believes that Tibullus is complaining not because Macer has joined the army but because he is writing epic rather than lyric poetry. In regard to the lines,

castra peto, valeatque Venus valeantque puellae;

¹Monroe E. Deutsch, "An Interpretation of Tibullus II.6,8," Classical Philology, IX (1914), pp. 447-448.

et mihi sunt vires et mihi facta tuba est.
 magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto
 excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores (lines 9-12),

he comments, "Since the reference to Macer's change of plans is a literary allusion, it is possible that we should understand by the words that Tibullus, too, once vainly tried to write on loftier themes. Such a statement, whether true or not, is found in almost every Augustan poet."¹ Perhaps Elegy II.5, which precedes this one, is an example of Tibullus' experiments in epic.

In conclusion, Tibullus maintains an ambivalent but consistent attitude toward war and peace throughout his poetry. He hates war in itself but views it as a necessary evil. He admires morally good military leaders but condemns the greedy. Though personally uninterested in a career as either a soldier or an epic poet, he frequently uses military themes and images in his poems. At the same time, Tibullus is very concerned about peace. In the first book of his elegies he seems to be hoping that peace will be established. In the second book, he implies that peace prevails in most of the empire and expresses the hope that it will continue to do so. The desire for peace and similar feelings about war can be found in the Res Gestae of Augustus and in the works of the members of the literary circle which he favored.

¹Edward N. O'Neil, "Tibullus 2.6: A New Interpretation," Classical Philology, LXII (1967), p. 166.

CHAPTER III

CITY AND COUNTRY: AUGUSTUS

Two seemingly contrary attitudes found in Vergil, Horace, and Propertius are 1) an admiration for nature and country life and 2) a deep attachment to the city of Rome, where each poet spent at least part of his adult life. Vergil provides the most outstanding example of this double interest. He produced a work describing the ideal life of Arcadian shepherds (the Eclogues), a didactic poem on farming (the Georgics), and an epic (the Aeneid) glorifying Rome and linking its history with another great city, Troy. Horace, in his Odes includes many passages describing nature, e.g., his ode to the Fons Bandusia,¹ and repeatedly states his preference for the simple life on his Sabine farm. Yet, even in criticizing city life, he often pays a left-handed compliment to Rome. For example, in his invitation to Maecenas in Odes III:29, lines 9-12, he paints a vivid picture of a thriving city:

fastidiosam desere copiam et
molem propinquam nubibus arduis
omitte mirari beatae

¹Horace, Odes III.13.

fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.

A prayer for the city of Rome is included in the Carmen Saeculare:

Alme sol, curru nitido diem qui
promis et celas aliusque et idem
nascaris, possis nihil urbe Roma¹
viseremaius (lines 9-12).

Horace's mixed feelings toward the city and country are especially evident in the Satires and Epistles.² In contrast to Horace's practice in the Odes, the background of the elegies of Propertius is the city of Rome. Yet, he occasionally shows signs of the country, as in Elegy II.19. In this poem Propertius vividly describes Cynthia's activities in the country while she is awaiting his arrival and also pictures his own activities once he will have joined her.

The beauties of the countryside appear in varying degrees in the works of the writers in the literary circle of Augustus, but, as W. Y. Sellar observes,

the enjoyment of Nature is passive rather than an active

¹In "The Social Policy of Augustus," in the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. X: The Augustan Empire, ed. by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), p. 457, Hugh Last notes, "The hope of Horace was the intention of Augustus. Rome was to become the focus and stimulus of Italian patriotism, and it was to make the city worthy of the people whose inspiration it should be that Augustus and his friends undertook" various public works.

²See Rosemary Louise Mullen, "The Use of the Terms Rus and Urbs in the Poetry of Horace," (a Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1967).

enjoyment derived from adventurous or contemplative energy. There is no suggestion, as there is in Homer and in many modern poets, of vivid contact with the sterner forces of Nature...Horace expresses a shrinking from the dangers of the sea, nor is there in Virgil any trace of that enjoyment of perilous adventure which is one of the great sources of delight in the *Odyssey*.¹

¹W. Y. Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), p. 35. A passive appreciation of nature is evident in the writings of the authors associated with Augustus' regime, but it may not be assumed to be a characteristic of all writings of the period. It is not found, for example, in the Astronomicon of Marcus Manilius. Both the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus and their contemporary, Manilius, who was not a member of the circle, deal with nature--but with nature in different senses. The former are primarily concerned with the beauty of the countryside and the awesomeness of unusual natural phenomena, while the latter is chiefly interested in the inner workings of nature and its influence on human life. In the Georgics, Vergil states, "Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas (Book II, line 490)," but also "Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestes (Book II, line 493)." Charles Anthon, The Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1850), p. 336, note 490-492, explains, "Happy, in the first place, is the philosopher; in the second, the husbandman." Vergil chooses the second alternative. The Georgics concern the farmer. Appreciation of nature is evident; a philosophical, contemplative viewpoint is lacking. In contrast to Manilius, Vergil is interested in astronomical phenomena (e.g., lines 204-258) as guides for engaging in various agricultural activities rather than as objects of scientific inquiry. His vivid descriptions, however, also reveal a passive appreciation of the beauty and wonder of nature. This is true in Vergil's other works, too. In *Elegy III.5*, Propertius states that he wishes to spend his old age studying nature. Here he is referring to nature in the philosophical sense. His poems, however, which treat of nature only occasionally, are not concerned with nature in this sense. Though in Epistles II.4, a poem which may be addressed to Tibullus (See Ullman, "Horace and Tibullus," pp. 149-167), Horace calls himself Epicurean, he does not in his poetry dwell on the teachings of Epicurus regarding nature. Instead, he writes of the natural beauty of his Sabine farm. Manilius, on the other hand, has or, at least claims to have a philosophical (scientific) view of nature. His desire to actively study the inner workings of nature

With the exception of the Georgics, rustic life is ordinarily idealized in the writings of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius. Moreover, the pleasant features of rustic living are emphasized. In attempting to explain the phenomenon of an interest in nature in sophisticated poets living in a large city, Sellar comments,

The aspect which the world they lived in presented to the writers...was that of a rich, luxurious,

is set forth in his prayer for inspiration in the Astronomicon:

Carmines diuinas artes et conscia fati
sidera diuersos hominum uariantia casus,
caelestis rationis opus, deducere mundo
aggredior primusque nouis Helicon mouere
cantibus et uiridi nutantis uertice siluas
hospita sacra ferens nulli memorata priorum.
hunc mihi tu, Caesar, patriae princepsque paterque,
qui regis augustis parentem legibus orbem
concessumque patri mundum deus ipse mereris,
das animum uiresque facis ad tanta canenda,
iam propiusque fauet mundus scrutantibus ipsum
et cupit aetherios per carmina pandere census.
hos sub pace uocat; tandem iuuat ire per ipsum
aera et immenso spatiantem uiuere caelo
signaque et aduersos stellarum noscere cursus.
quod solum nouisse parum est. impensius ipsa
scire iuuat magni penitus praecordia mundi,
quaque regat generetque suis animalia signis
cernere et in numerum Phoebus modulante referre.
bina mihi positis lucent altaria flammis,
ad duo templa precor duplici circumdatus aestu
carminis et rerum; certa cum lege canentem
mundus et immenso uatem circumstrepit orbe
uixque soluta suis immittit uerba figuris.

The above lines also indicate that Manilius imagines himself walking about in the sky rather than in the country, where the poets in the literary circle favored by Augustus were fond of picturing themselves. Moreover, descriptions of the natural beauty of the countryside (as well as of the beauty of celestial phenomena) are generally lacking in Manilius' work.

pleasure-loving city, the capital of a great empire... and this aspect of the world acts upon the susceptible nature of the poet with both an attractive and a repellent force. He may well feel the spell of outward pomp and magnificence and the attractions of pleasure; or he may be driven back on his own thought, and into communion with Nature, and to¹ an ideal longing for the simpler and purer conditions.

In addition, Sellar points out that interest in nature, contrary to expectation, is not something found in individuals such as herdsmen and hunters, who face nature's harsher forces daily. Moreover, it is not consciously developed in primitive times or in unsophisticated societies. Rather, it is an adjunct of leisure, culture, and refinement.²

In searching for ideal and simpler conditions to serve as a model for the new era which Augustus was establishing, the writers in his circle turned to the early history of Rome. Propheying the advent of a golden age, Vergil in his Fourth Eclogue states, "redeunt Saturnia regna (line 6)." This is a reference to a pre-historical period described in mythology, which featured rustic existence with perfect peace, great abundance (resulting partly from the spontaneous generation of crops), and no labor. In the Aeneid Vergil gives a glimpse of the small agricultural settlement which was to grow into a great city:

Sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem,

¹Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil, pp. 6-7.

²Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil, p. 47.

Cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
Tecta vident, quae nunc Romam potentia caelo
Aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat (Aeneid ·
VIII, lines 97-100).

Propertius describes in greater detail what life was like
in early times:

Hoc quodcumque vides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,
ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit;
atque ubi Navali stant sacra Palatia Phoebō,
Euandri profugae concubuerē boves.
fictilibus crevere deis haec aurea templa,
nec fuit opprobrio facta sine arte casa;
Tarpeiusque pater nuda de rupe tonabat,
et Tiberis nostris advena bubus erat.
qua gradibus domus ista Remi se sustulit, olim
unus erat fratrum maxima regna focus.
Curia, praetexto quae nunc nitet alta senatu,
pellitos habuit, rustica corda, Patres.
bucina cogebat priscos ad verba Quirites;
centum illi in prato saepe senatus erat
.....
nil patrium nisi nomen habet Romanus alumnus;
sanguinis altricem non putet esse lupam (IV.1,
lines 1-14 and 37-38).

The ending of Propertius' description implies that the
Romans of yore were of better moral quality than his con-
temporaries.

Like Vergil and Propertius, Horace considers the
country as the source of Rome's greatness. In complaining
about the social conditions of his day, he laments,

non his iuventus orta parentibus
infecit aequor sanguine Punico
Pyrrhumque et argentem cecidit
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum:

sed rusticorum mascula militum
proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
versare glaebas et severae
matris ad arbitrium recisos

portare fustes, Sol ubi montium
mutaret umbras et iuga demeret

bobus fatigatis, amicum
tempus agens abeunte curru (Odes III.6, lines
33-34).

As can be seen from the passages of Propertius and Horace quoted above and can easily be detected on reading the works of Vergil, the writers in the circle of Augustus associated the countryside with good morals and devotion to the gods, city, and family. They looked to the simple but virtuous rustic lifestyle found in the early periods of Roman history as a source of national pride and a model for future existence. Franz Altheim observes,

The age of Augustus is characterized by its selection, from many possible attitudes, of one of self-examination, of reflection about the basis of its own being and a conscious return to them...The aim is not merely to extend the world that is inherited and lead it beyond itself; it is at least as much to preserve it in its content and significance...

In practice, this tendency was expressed in the need to grasp the pattern, contained for the Roman either in the classical creations of the Greek genius or in the mos maiorum and their exempla, as what it really was, an obligation and a surety. The task of the new generation has, therefore, to include two elements. It must loyally keep and hand on what the fathers in their day learnt and expressed, but must also realize it in clearer and more convincing manner by advancing from the spirit of the past to new and authoritative formulation.¹

That Augustus himself strove for the re-establishment of ancestral values (associated by tradition with the rustic lifestyle)² is evident from a passage of the Res Gestae.

¹Franz Altheim, A History of Roman Religion, trans. by Harold Mattingly (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1937), p. 379.

²Syme, p. 449, points out that Augustus encouraged the Romans "to regard themselves as a tough and martial people." He adds,

Quoting both the Latin and Greek versions of part of chapter VIII, Hardy notes that they differ in meaning:

Legibus novis latis complura exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro usu reduxi, et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi.

Εἰσαγαγὼν καινοὺς νόμους πολλὰ ἤδη τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐθῶν καταλυόμενα διωρθώσαμην, καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν πραγμάτων μείμημα ἑμαυτὸν τοῖς μετέπειτα παρέδωκα.

A somewhat more detailed statement to the same effect is made by Suetonius (Aug. 34); 'leges retractavit at quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam, et de adulteriis et de pudicitia, de ambitu et de maritandis ordinibus'...The general aim of Augustus was to restore primitive virtue and simplicity. Suetonius is of course right in stating that while some of the laws were old ones reinforced, others were fresh departures, but, if the Greek version is correct, that is not the point emphasized in the Monument. It is rather that he accomplished his aim

They were peasants and soldiers. Tradition remembered, or romance depicted, the consuls of the early Republic as identical in life, habit and ideals with the rough farmers whom they led to battle--generals and soldiers alike the products of 'saeva paupertas'...The ideal of virtue and valour was not Roman only, but Italian...In the exaltation of 'Itala virtus' Rome magnified her valour, for Rome had prevailed over Italy.

A. H. M. Jones, Augustus (London: Chatto and Windus, 1970), p. 166, comments on the sincerity of the princeps: "This encouragement of old-fashioned manners and customs had its political side, being intended to buttress the restored Republic, but there can be little doubt that Augustus valued them for their own sake." Rostovtseff, p. 61, calls attention to the close relationship between the city and the countryside in the Augustan Age:

Both large and middle-sized properties had this in common, that they were managed on a scientific and capitalistic basis by men who resided not on the land but in the cities. To this class belonged almost all the veterans who had received their land from Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus.

partly by legislation, partly by the example of his own private life.¹

Other indications of Augustus' attempts to foster traditional attitudes were his building and restoration of temples, including one of Saturn² and his revival of traditional religious rites.³

At the same time that he was advocating a return to traditional attitudes which were associated with the countryside, Augustus was striving to make Rome an outstanding city.⁴ Suetonius records his achievements:

Urbem neque pro maiestate imperii ornatam et inunda-

¹ Hardy, p. 60. The Latin text in Malcovati's edition of the Res Gestae (p. 116) is slightly different:

Legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi.

² See Res Gestae XIX, XX, and XXI.

³ Discussion of Augustus' religious reforms by modern scholars include A. D. Nock, "Religious Developments from the Close of the Republic to the Death of Nero," in the Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. X: The Augustan Empire, ed. by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 475-481; M. Cary, A History of Rome Down to the Age of Constantine (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1954), pp. 490-491; M. L. Clarke, The Roman Mind: Studies in the History of Thought from Cicero to Marcus Aurelius (London: Cohen and West, Ltd., 1956), pp. 78-86; and Rowell, pp. 179-188.

⁴ For a discussion of Augustus' building program, see Salmon, p. 20; Pierre Grimal, Introduction to Rome of the Caesars by Frédérique Duran, trans. by Lucy Norton (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1956), pp. 14-19; and Eugénie Strong, "The Art of the Augustan Age," in The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. X: The Augustan Empire, ed. by S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), pp. 546-550 and pp. 570-580.

tionibus incendiisque obnoxiam excoluit adeo, ut iure sit gloriatus 'marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisset (Divus Augustus XXVIII).'

Mindful of the Augustan tendency to link the past, the present, and the future, Starr makes the following comment:

the boast of Augustus that he found Rome in brick and left it in marble was intended allegorically, but has its architectural truth. Physically as well as spiritually Rome was to be made the center of the Mediterranean world. Vitruvius, who dedicated his work on architecture to Augustus, rightly asserts in his preface, 'With respect to the future, you have such regard to public and private buildings, that they will correspond to the grandeur of our history, and will be a memorial to future ages.'¹

To summarize, the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus display both a passive interest in nature, which is often characteristic of sophisticated urban dwellers, and an admiration for the city of Rome. Moreover, they express a desire for the simple agricultural lifestyle (which they end to idealize) and the moral values traditionally associated with the Roman countryside. Finally, they look to the future of the city of Rome with optimism because of its rural origin and connections.

¹Starr, p. 50. Starr has translated part of the following passage from Vitruvius, De Architectura I.1:

Cum vero attenderem te non solum de vita communi omnium curam publicaeque rei constitutionem habere sed etiam de opportunitate publicorum aedificiorum, ut civitas per te non solum provinciis esset aucta, verum etiam ut maiestas imperii publicorum aedificiorum egregias haberet auctoritates, non putavi praetermittendum, quin primo quoque tempore de his rebus es tibi ederem, ideo quod primum parenti tuo de eo fuero notus et eius virtutis studiosus.

CITY AND COUNTRY: TIBULLUS

Elegy I.1 reveals that the persona of Tibullus is not only interested in country life but also idealizes it. Among the things Tibullus implies that he would like to possess but says that he is willing to forego to void the travails of military service are "culti iugera multa soli (lines 2)." That his family's estate was once large is evident from the lines,

vos quoque, felicis quondam, nunc pauperis agri
custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares:
tun vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuencos,
nunc agna exigui est hostia parva soli (lines 19-22).

Despite his reduced state, Tibullus still wishes to enjoy a rustic existence. His idealized attitude is betrayed in the line "me mea paupertas vita traducat inertī (lines 5)"; for, as Putnam explains, "the words vita inertī refer to the (assumed) leisurely life of the countryside."¹ The same idea is stated more explicitly in lines 25-28 of the poem, where Tibullus expresses the desire to be able both to live content with little and to avoid the summer risings of the Dog Star under the shade of a tree on the bank of a stream. Tibullus' idealization of life in the country suggests that he has never been involved in the actual day-to-day operation

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 51, note 5-6.

of a farm, though, as shown by the rest of the poem, he has spent time in the country and is familiar with some of the activities. Moreover, A. W. Bullock points out,

for Tibullus work is something quite extraordinary. In I.I.29 ff., for example, expressing his contentment with modest means and country produce the poet thinks he will not be ashamed to go hoeing and herding cattle; to be more correct, of course, one should say that he hopes he will not be ashamed, for the whole poem is a wish in the subjunctive mood. The subjunctive, non...pudeat, is not just a stylistic feature.¹

Tibullus, therefore, seems to be an urban dweller who would like to move to the countryside and who idealizes to some extent what life there will be like. In this poem, as Lee points out, Tibullus subtly changes from a rural to an urban setting before introducing Delia. Lee states, "Hoc Mihi contingat"² makes it clear that what precedes is wishful thinking and the poet is not yet in fact living in the country with his domina, perhaps not in the country at all, despite the reader's first impression that hic in line 35 is to be taken literally."³ Lee goes on to show that Messalla's domus, mentioned in line 54, must be his town house rather than his country home, or villa. Furthermore, he says that the present indicative which Tibullus uses when describing himself as Delia's ianitor not only provides a contrast to the

¹A. W. Bullock, "Tibullus and the Alexandrians," Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, XIX (1973), p. 85.

²Tibullus, Elegy I.1, line 49.

³Lee, p. 105.

subjunctives which he used in the first part of the poem when referring to the country but also suggests that he is actually in town, though he need not be.¹ Solmsen notes that the exclusus amator theme in itself is associated with an urban rather than a rustic environment. He also notes that just before the end of the poem Tibullus chooses "erotic motifs with rural connotations. Frangere postes and rixas inserere characterize the behavior of the rusticus in I,10 where these two motifs recur."² In this way Tibullus brings to mind the countryside, the implied setting of the last two lines of the poem. On Tibullus' mixture of urban and rural erotic images, Philip Dunlop comments, "The background to Tibullus' loves is half rural and half urban. This in itself reflects the division of time between town and country of most well-to-do Romans--time, that is, not devoted to service abroad."³

In Elegy I.1 Tibullus' interest in nature can be inferred from his desire to lie on the shady bank of a stream watching the water flow by when the weather is hot and when it is cold to fall asleep listening to the wintry wind and rain outside his home. Appreciation of nature is also

¹Lee, pp. 105-106. Lee feels that Tibullus was engaged in military service while writing this poem (see p. 102). For other views concerning where the poem was written (perhaps more accurately in some cases, where the historical Tibullus wishes the reader to think it was written), see Fisher, p. 772.

²Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 305-306.

³Philip Dunlop, The Poems of Tibullus with the Tibullan Collection (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1972), p. 34.

revealed in simple descriptive lines such as "seu vetus in trivio florida sertā lapis (line 12)."

That Tibullus, like the writers in the circle of Augustus, associated the rural lifestyle of the past with good morals and devotion to the gods and considered it as a model for his ideal future life is hinted at by his desire to be a poor but contented rustic and by his plans to carry on the traditional rites associated with his ancestral gods and the gods of the countryside.¹ His admiration of and

¹Lee, pp. 101-102, suggests that part of Tibullus' inspiration for Elegy I.1 came from a reading of Horace, Epode II, in which there are parallels in wording and thought (especially regarding the traditional lifestyle). Compare the following lines of Epode II, which in its entirety turns out to be a parody of the desire for country life in the Augustan Age:

Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
 ut prisca gens mortalium,
 paterna rura bobus exercet suis
 solutus omni faenore,
 neque excitatur classico miles truci,
 neque horret iratum mare,
 Forumque vitat et superba civium
 potentiorum limina.
 ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
 altas maritat populos,
 aut in reducta valle mugientium
 prospectat errantes greges,
 inutilesque falce ramos amputans
 feliciores inserit,
 aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris,
 aut tondet infirmas oves;
 vel cum decorum mitibus pomis caput
 Autumnus agris extulit,
 ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pira
 certantem et uvam purpurae,
 qua muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater
 Silvane, tutor finium.

respect for the farmers of old who lived even before the time of his wealthy ancestors (whose lifestyle Tibullus in the next couplet says he is not seeking) is evident in the following lines:

adsitis, divi, nec vos e paupere mensa
 dona nec e puris spernite fictilibus.
 fictilia antiquus primum sibi fecit agrestis
 pocula, de facili composuitque luto (lines 37-40).

Heyne comments that in lines 39-40 Tibullus "causam, cur fictilia dii respuere non debeant, addit: maiorum morem et usum."¹

Tibullus' use of wine as medicine for the sorrows of love and his address to the bolted door of his girl's home, "ianua difficilis dominis...(line 7)" indicate that the setting of Elegy I.2 is in the city rather than the country; for they characterize the poem as, at least partially, a paraclausithyron, a type of poem which generally has an urban setting.² That Tibullus and Delia are in the city is revealed

¹Heyne, p. 8, note 39.40.

²Frank Olin Copley in Exclusus Amator: A Study in Latin Love Poetry (Madison: The American Philological Association, 1956) states that three elements are referred to either explicitly or by implication in every paraclausithyron--"the lover's passage through the streets, his repulse at the door, and his lament" (p. 4). He divides paraclausithyra into two types: 1) dramatic, in which the whole incident, of which the lover's song is a part, is depicted and 2) non-dramatic, in which interest is focused on the lover's song and the parts of the incident directly related to it (p. 7). Copley relates that the earliest example of the dramatic paraclausithyron occurs in Aristophanes' Ecclesiazusae (p. 7). This play is set in Athens. Of the non-dramatic type two early lyric fragments--Alcaeus, fr.65 (Diehl) and Anacreon fr.69 (Diehl)--exist. Because

when Tibullus encourages Delia to be daring for love. To reassure her that she will be safe, he gives examples of how Venus protects him when he is wandering about the city at night. The present tense of the verb vagor in line 25 indicates that Tibullus is speaking of an on-going activity and not from past experience. Near the end of the poem, when he is warning his detractors, Tibullus describes the actions of an old man in love and presents the reaction of the young to him:

stare nec ante fores puduit caraeve puellae
ancillam medio detinuisse foro.
hunc puer, hunc iuvenis turba circumterit arta,
despuit in molles et sibi quisque sinus (lines 93-96).

The references to the forum and the crowd suggest an urban

they are so short, it is impossible to determine the exact setting of each. The next example is the Third Idyll of Theocritus. Here a rustic setting is given to an urban theme, as Copley's comment (p. 16) shows: "Of the revel through the streets, the single phrase κωμάσσω ποτὶ τὰν Ἀμαρυλλίδα is all that remains. After admonishing Tityrus to watch his herd, the goatherd appears at once before Amaryllis' gates; we are left to assume a passage through fields and woods (bucolic equivalent for city streets) between vss. 5 and 6." Copley relates that the earliest example of a paraclausithyron in Roman literature occurs in the Curculio of Plautus (p. 28). This play is set in the city of Epidaurus. According to Copley (p. 11), the paraclausithyron is also referred to in two of Plautus' other plays, the Persa and the Mercator. Both of these comedies are set in Athens. The paraclausithyron next appears in Lucretius (Book IV, lines 1177-1184). Copley thinks that Lucretius, modelled his paraclausithyron both on earlier ones written in the tradition of Plautus' and on behavior which he saw in the streets of Rome (pp. 44-46). The paraclausithyron is also associated with the city in the poetry of Catullus, e.g. Carmen LXVII; of Horace, e.g. Epode XI; and Propertius, e.g. I.16. Therefore, it seems safe to assume that the paraclausithyron suggested an urban setting to the readers of Tibullus.

rather than a rural background. Yet Tibullus manages to bring in the country when he muses,

ipse boves mea si tecum modo Delia possim
 iungere et in solito pascere monte pecus,
 et te dum liceat teneris retinere lacertis
 mollis et inculta sit mihi somnus humo (lines 71-74).

This is a truly bucolic scene, for Tibullus and Delia are pictured as cowherds.¹ It differs from the rural scenes in the first elegy because there Tibullus pictures himself doing agricultural tasks in addition to tending his sheep and goats. As in Elegy I.1, Tibullus is relating his thoughts rather than describing his actual situation.

Though the poem is not set in the countryside, natural phenomena are mentioned, generally, however, in their frightening aspect. Tibullus expresses his displeasure with the door by wishing that rain and thunder will strike it. He mentions the darkness and shadows of night in one place and

¹To what degree and in what ways Tibullus is a bucolic, or pastoral poet, has been much discussed. See. J. P. Elder, "Tibullus: Tersus atque Elegans," in Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Elegy and Lyric, ed. by John Patrick Sullivan (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 78-85; David O. Ross, Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 153-168; Jean Hubaux, Les Thèmes Bucoliques dans la Poesie Latine (Bruxelles: Maurice Lamertin, 1930), pp. 141-142; Charles Fantazzi, "Virgilian Pastoral and Roman Love Poetry," American Journal of Philology, LXXXVII (1966), 188-190; Gilbert Lawall, "The Green Cabinet and Pastoral Design: Theocritus, Euripides, and Tibullus," in Ancient Pastoral: Ramus Essays on Greek and Roman Pastoral Poetry, ed. by A. J. Boyle (Berwick, Victoria, Australia: Aureal Publications, 1975), pp. 5-18; Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," pp. 297-310, and Bullock, pp. 85-87.

the numbing cold and rain of a winter night in another. To emphasize Venus' ability to punish, he notes that she was born from the savage (rapido) sea. To indicate the power of the witch, he describes her ability to disrupt natural occurrences

hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi,
fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit inter,
haec cantu finditque solum...

.....
cum libet, haec tristi depellit nubila caelo;
cum libet, aestivo convocat orbe nives (lines 43-45
and 49-50).

Finally, at the very end of the poem, Tibullus by means of a metaphor questions what he considers an unnatural action on the part of Venus: "quid messes uris tuas (line 98)?"

In Elegy I.3 Tibullus again reveals that he has ties with both the city and the countryside. The words, "me cum mitteret urbe," in line 9 imply that Tibullus and Delia were awaiting his departure for military service in the city. If the reading e triviis (line 12) of the best Tibullan manuscript, the Ambrosianus, is accepted,¹ an urban setting could well be indicated; for as Putnam notes, soothsayers often stationed themselves in the most crowded parts of the city.² References to the worship of Isis, whose cult was more popular in Rome than in the countryside, give the poem a cosmopolitan

¹The reading, e trinis, which Smith prefers, is the emendation of Muretus. See the apparatus criticus of Lenz, p. 54.

²Putnam, Tibullus, A Commentary, p. 76, note 11-12.

and urban tone. In visualizing Delia fulfilling her vows to Isis, Tibullus describes her as "insignis turba...in Pharia (line 32)." The presence of a crowd again suggests the city. On the other hand, Tibullus prays that he may be saved in order to honor his Lares and Penates, gods which in his other elegies he often associates with the countryside.¹ Moreover, Tibullus' prayer serves as a transition to his description of the Age of Saturn, when a rustic lifestyle prevailed. An insight into Tibullus' thought processes is given by Bright:

So strongly does the remembered experience of Delia carrying out the rituals prescribed by Isis come to him that he turns, in another shift of address, directly to Isis with nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi, but after a brief and passing statement of her attested power to help, he drifts off once more into the distant dreams of recovery and to the remote picture of Delia as the beautiful devotee and himself as the happy rustic worshipper of his ancestral Lar. Just how remote the happy scene is to him is shown by the sudden introduction of the Golden Age picture, which is here virtually an extension of the previous reverie.²

In delineating the Age of Saturn, Tibullus emphasizes the absence of man's struggle against nature:

nondum caeruleas pinus contempserat undas,
effusum ventis praebueratque sinum,
nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris
presserat externa navita merce ratem.
illo non validus subiit iuga tempore taurus,
non domito frenos ore momordit equus,

¹All of the other passages in which Tibullus mentions his personal Lares (Elegy I.1, line 20; Elegy I.10, lines 15 and 25; and Elegy II.4, line 54) have rustic settings as does the reference to Lares in Elegy II.1, line 60. The Penates are not mentioned again.

²Bright, "A Tibullan Odyssey," p. 200.

non domus ulla fores habuit, non fixus in agris
qui regeret certis finibus arva lapis (lines 37-44).

Then he speaks of Nature's cooperation:

ipsae mella dabant quercus, ultroque ferebant
obvia securis ubera lactis oves (lines 45-46).

His sketch of the Elysian Fields shows nature providing music, spice, and flowers for the happiness of the lovers without any effort on their part. These passages, therefore, reveal that Tibullus, like the writers in the literary circle of Augustus, appreciated the beauty of nature but did not take delight in man's struggle with natural forces. Like Elegy I.2, Elegy I.3 ends with a reference to nature. Personification and colorful modifiers are used to suggest the loveliness of the day on which Tibullus will return:

hoc precor, hunc illum nobis Aurora nitentem
Luciferum roseis candida portet equis (lines 93-94).

In his description of the Saturnian Age, Tibullus seems to imply that men were better before they became greedy for foreign merchandise and daring enough to challenge nature. That Tibullus' picture of the Saturnian Age is presented as an extension of his daydreams about the future, as Bright points out, suggests that Tibullus regarded the former age as his ideal for his future life on earth as well as for his eternal life in the Elysian Fields, where conditions similar to the Golden Age exist. The connection between the Saturnian Age and Tibullus' reverie concerning his return to Delia is explained by Bright:

By this vision of Delia, Tibullus brings himself as close as is now allowed to the bliss of that lost Golden Age. Delia presides in her simple purity over the end of the poem like an incarnation of human innocence. The scene is remote, a dream of distant happiness. Tibullus himself is far from it, yet it is the goal of his whole reverie.

The happy ending of Tibullus' poem hints that a new age of peace and happiness will come in the foreseeable future. The identification of Tibullus with Odysseus intensifies this expectation, since at the conclusion of the Odyssey it is implied that Odysseus and his wife will live happily ever after and since in Book XI of the Odyssey, (line 134-137) Tiresias prophesies that Odysseus will die in prosperity after an easy old age. The identification of Tibullus with Odysseus also adds a note of national pride to the poem by bringing to mind Rome's illustrious history, which reached back to the Trojan War.

Whether Delia is awaiting Tibullus' arrival in the city or the country is not clear. However, the need of a guardian for her modesty and the fact that she was in the city when Tibullus left suggest that she is still there. Furthermore, since Delia was portrayed as an urban dweller in both Elegy I.1 and Elegy I.2, it seems reasonable to assume that she remains one in Elegy I.3.

Elegy I.4 is set in a garden and contains many references to nature. The opening of the poem is a wish that Priapus (actually his statue) will be protected from sun and snow.

¹Bright, "A Tibullan Odyssey," P. 204.

Soles (line 2) is used rather than sol to emphasize the presence of the sun day after day.¹ Part of the description of Priapus' appearance causes the reader to recall the unpleasant sensations caused by extreme temperatures:

nudus et hibernae producis frigora brumae,
nudus et aestivi tempora sicca Canis (lines 5-6).

In advising Tibullus, Priapus continually uses examples from nature to convey his ideas. To stress the need for perseverance in attempting to win over a youth, he points out that nature only very gradually brings fruit to maturity and causes the changing of the seasons. Moreover, he reminds Tibullus that with patience and persistence man is able to tame lions and that water, though soft, wears away rock in time. The result of a suitor's patience is also expressed through a metaphor from nature--"paulatim sub iuga colla dabit (line 16)." To demonstrate the necessity of immediate action on the part of one wooing a youth, Priapus again makes comparisons with natural events:

quam cito non segnis stat remeatque dies,
quam cito purpureos deperdit terra colores,
quam cito formosas populus alba comas!
quam iacet, infirmae venere ubi fata senectae,
qui prior Eleo est carcere missus equus (lines 28-32)!

Smith comments that the wording of the second and third examples of the swift passage of time apply equally well to human beings as to vegetables. On the second example he comments,

¹Smith, p. 264, note 2, and pp. 185-186, note 4.

Note that Tibullus's phrase here is purposely so constructed as to furnish a close and suggestive parallel with the freshness and colour of youth; hence the suppression of flowers in so many words and the substitution of colores which suggests both flowers and youth, the use of deperdit which personifies terra and finally the choice of the word purpureos which here as often connotes, as does its Greek original, brightness and beauty rather than any definite colour, and so used is a word constantly associated with youth and beauty.¹

The third example, Smith says, "suggests another prerogative of youth, beautiful and abundant hair...cut off at majority in the case of boys and in any event turning grey or dropping out with age."² What is said of the horse in the last example (lines 31-32) certainly also might be said of a human running champion. In conclusion, by making Priapus give specific examples rather than simply enunciate principles, Tibullus not only attributes to him statements appropriate to his function as a garden god but also injects nature imagery into the poem.

The ideas, popular with the writers in Augustus' literary circle, that nature is to be enjoyed passively and that struggle with it is to be avoided if possible, become evident in Elegy I.4 when Priapus advises those wishing to soften the hearts of youths to comply with their requests even when this involves doing something which they find displeasing such as hunting, rowing, or taking long walks in the sun or when a storm is at hand. Priapus' last reference to nature

¹Smith, pp. 273-274, note 29.

²Smith, pp. 274-275, note 30.

emphasizes the continuity and perpetuity of certain natural phenomena:

quem referent Musae, vivet dum robora tellus,
dum caelum stellas, dum vehet amnis aquas (lines 65-66).

In Elegy I.5 country living is again depicted as the ideal type of existence. In this poem Tibullus recalls that while Delia was ill, he had made grand plans for their future life, including a rustic setting. Tibullus says that he imagined Delia supervising the threshing, overseeing the production of wine, taking inventory of the cattle, making the proper sacrifices to the gods, and acting as the perfect hostess to Messalla. He seems to have pictured himself (secure in the knowledge that his love was near) relaxing and entertaining his former commander. A change of attitude from that found in the first two elegies of Book I is discernible. In Elegy I.1, Tibullus had planned to participate in some of the more important farm operations and had hoped that it would not shame him to engage occasionally in more menial tasks. Here he says,

illa regat cunctos, illi sint omnia curae;
at iuvet in tota me nihil esse domo (lines 29-30).

It is to be noted that he wishes to give Delia all of the responsibility but does not picture her doing physical, pastoral tasks as he did in Elegy I.2. Ironically, Delia here seems to have the same position which Tibullus gave to himself in Elegy I.1--head of a household occasionally engaging in lowly tasks (in Delia's case, preparing meals)

which do not demean his station in life. Also, in contrast to the former elegies, Tibullus seems to be describing not a little farm but an estate (such, perhaps, as in Elegy I.1 he said that his ancestors had possessed) so large that tenant farmers were involved in its operation. Tibullus' appears to be more confident, too. Rather than using the present subjunctive, which throughout his poetry he favors for expressing wishes, in lines 21-28 of this elegy, Tibullus employs the future indicative to describe how he had imagined life with Delia would be. Tibullus suggests an association between country life and devotion to the gods, family, and city when he highlights Delia's diligence and dedication to her household chores, her careful observance of the rites of the rural deities, and her respect for Messalla, a man honored for his services to his city.

The use of the word fingebam at the beginning (line 20) and near the end (line 35) of Tibullus' description of rustic life stresses the fact that Tibullus did not have the type of existence which he was describing. The juxtaposition of the clauses rura colam and frugumque aderit mea Delia custos suggests that just as Delia was not present while Tibullus was daydreaming, so also Tibullus was not living in the country. Certain passages in the rest of the poem seem to indicate that Tibullus and Delia were still not living in the country at the time when he was remembering his reverie. For example, in listing the advantages of a poverty-stricken

lover, he includes the lover's usefulness in clearing paths through crowds, a service required more often in the city than in the country. Pointing out the difficulty of finding a consistent setting in any of Tibullus' poems, Solmsen concedes, "one might say the poem as a whole has an urban setting."¹ This is partly because the elegy, as Copley observes, is, at least formally, a paraclausithyron,² though the reader is kept in suspense about the poet's exact dramatic situation until lines 67-68:

heu canimus frustra, nec verbis victa patescit
ianua, sed plena est percutienda manu.

As was mentioned above,³ the paraclausithyron normally has an urban setting. The mention of the lena also suggests the city, for in Roman literature, the lena was associated with an urban setting.⁴ It is interesting that the punishment

¹Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 306.

²Copley, Exclusus Amator: A Study in Latin Love Poetry, p. 107. Though he disagrees with Copley that the whole poem is a paraclausithyron, Herbert Musurillo, S. J., "Furtivus Amor: The Structure of Tibullus 1.5," Transactions of the American Philological Association, CI (1970), pp. 391 and 394, admits that the poem has two features of a paraclausithyron: 1) Drinking to forget one's love problems is mentioned; 2) Reference is made to the locked door of the girl's home.

³See above, p. 61.

⁴The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, p. 1136, cites the following instances of the employment of the word lena in Roman literature before Tibullus: Plautus, Asinaria, lines 175, 178, 746, 749, 752, 799, 815, 915; Cistellaria, personae list; Mostellaria, line 270; Persa, line 243; Truculentus, line 224; and Trabea, com. 1. All of the plays of Plautus which are cited are set in a city--the Cistellaria in Sicily; the others, in Athens. Not enough of Trabea's play is extant

Tibullus wishes for the lena involves both the city (lines 55-56) and the countryside (lines 53-54).

ipsa fame stimulante furens herbasque sepulcris
quaerat et a saevis ossa relictis lupis,
currat et inguinibus nudis ululetque per urbes,
post agat e triviis aspera turba canum (lines 53-56).

Like Elegy I.2, this poem ends with a nature metaphor:
"in liquida nat tibi linter aqua (lines 76)." Outside of
this there is no emphasis on nature or its beauty in Elegy I.5.

Elegy I.6 seems to be a continuation of the storyline
of Elegy I.5. Delia is now admitting Tibullus as well as
another lover. Therefore, it is likely that the setting has
not changed. That Delia and Tibullus are still in the city
is suggested by the references to the Bona Dea¹ and Bellona,²
who both had temples in Rome and whose cults were popular

to determine the setting. Tibullus' contemporary, Propertius,
also uses the word lena (IV.5, lines 1 and 75) in a poem
with an urban background.

¹Commentators on Tibullus, as far back as Scaliger,
have inferred that the background of at least part of Elegy
I.6 is Rome; for they place the worship of the Bona Dea
there. Janus Broukhusius, Albii Tibulli, Equitis Rom., Quae
Extant (Amsterdam: ex Officina Wetsteniana, 1708), p. 124,
note 23, reveals that Scaliger thought that the altar mentioned
in line 23 was the altar which was set up in the home of the
consul who held the fascis for the month. Broukhusius dis-
agrees. Calling attention to the plural, he maintains that
aras refers to the temple of the Bona Dea located on the
Aventine Hill. Smith, p. 312, notes 22 and 23, concurs with
this opinion.

²Smith, pp. 316-317, note 43-56, states that the statue
of Bellona about which Tibullus is speaking in line 48 was
located in the aedes Bellonae Pulvinensis near the Flaminian
Circus in Rome.

there during the Augustan Age.¹ In addition, an urban setting is hinted at near the beginning of the poem by Tibullus' reference to Delia's deceptive tactics. Julia Haig Gaisser maintains that certain lines of Elegy I.6 recall the content and general situation of Elegy I.2:

In I.6 Tibullus complains (9-14) that the tricks he once taught Delia are now being used against him. It was, of course, in I.2 that some of this teaching took place. Two of the tricks are the same--eluding the chaperones (I.6,9-10 and 2,15) and opening the door to a lover (I.6,11-12 and 2,17-18).²

What is relevant here is that the actions described in Elegy I.2 took place in the city.³ As in Elegy I.2, Tibullus predicts that crowds of youths will witness the fate of one who has crossed Venus. The word catervae in line 81 suggests a large throng⁴ of people, one more likely to be found in the city than in the country.

There are only two nature images in Elegy I.6--a metaphor and a simile. In the metaphor, Tibullus compares himself to a hunted animal: "nam mihi tenduntur casses (line 5)." The simile is part of the threat which Tibullus says the priestess of Bellona made against those who violate girls

¹See Dunlop, pp. 42-43.

²Julia Haig Gaisser, "Structure and Tone in Tibullus, I.6," American Journal of Philology, CXII (1971), p. 204, note 7.

³See pp. 61-63 above.

⁴Compare Tibullus' use of the word in line 49 and line 69 of Elegy I.2, the only other occurrences of the word in Tibullus' poems.

guarded by Love:

attigerit, labentur opes, ut vulnere nostro
sanguis, ut hic ventis diripiturque cinis
(lines 53-54).

Though the political event which it celebrates, Messalla's triumph, takes place in Rome, Elegy I.7 contains many references to nature and the country. In the unique opening of the poem, the Parcae are represented as having sung directly neither of Messalla's triumph nor of his birthday but a day--a day which would be able to route the Aquitanian nation, a day at which the Atax River would tremble.¹ Smith notes both that the personification of a country by one of its rivers was a common practice among Roman writers and that rivers were often represented on the floats in a triumphal procession.² Still, the change in this passage from the name of a people, Aquitanas, to the name of a river is striking and calls attention to the natural feature.

Many geographical features are mentioned in lines 9-16, and most are qualified by adjectives which give information about their location and/or appearance:

¹
Smith, p. 325, note 4, and Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 119, note 3-4, feel that the personified river symbolizes the Aquitanians. Heyne, p. 64, note 4, who accepts Scaliger's emendation of Atur for Atax (see the apparatus criticus of Lenz, p. 74) agrees. Postage, Selections ..., p. 91, note 4, has a different view. He comments, "The river is alarmed by the Aquitanians bursting into the Roman Province." In his interpretation the emphasis on the natural feature is more pronounced.

²
Smith, p. 325, note 4.

non sine me est tibi partus honor: Tarbella Pyrene
 testis et Oceani litora Santonici,
 testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garumna,
 Carnutis et flavi caerula lympa Liger.
 an te, Cydne, canam, tacitis qui leniter undis
 caeruleus placidis per vada serpis aquis,
 quantus et aetherio contingens vertice nubes
 frigidus intonsos Taurus alat Cilicas?

The adjective which seems to have received the most scholarly attention is caerula in line 12 (line 4 above). Its juxtaposition with flavi has often been commented on.¹ Smith thinks that caerula does not mean "blue" here although it is generally translated in that way.² Pointing out the derivation of caerula from caelum he suggests the translation, "sky-color." He explains that the water itself would have to be clear, that is, having no color of its own but reflecting the color of the sky which changes continually. Smith also feels the translation applies to the variant form caeruleus in line 14 (line 6 above).³ The use of direct address and a long descriptive clause gives special emphasis to the last river, the Cydnus. About the relative clause, Broukhusius comments, "Sequentium verborum structura est horrida ac

¹ See, for example, Heyne, p. 65, note 12; Smith pp. 326-327, note 12; Postgate, Selections..., p. 92, note 12; and Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 120, note 11-12. Elder, "Tibullus, Ennius and the Blue Loire," p. 102, theorizes that the phrase is an echo of the word collocation of Ennius. See p. 25 above.

² See Elder, "Tibullus, Ennius and the Blue Loire," pp. 100-101, where the comments of Scaliger, Dissen, and Klingner on the word caerula are quoted.

³ Smith, pp. 326-327, note 12.

difficilis...quem enim non offendant tacitae Cydni undae, & placidae aquae?"¹ Postgate seems to think that the redundancy of expression in the clause lays stress on the silence or secrecy of the river,² while Smith feels that it stresses the calm stillness of the body of water.³ An unexpected change of construction to indirect question causes the reader to focus his attention on the last geographical feature mentioned, Taurus. The description of the peak of the mountain touching the clouds, which Putnam maintains is hyperbole, adds effective imagery to the passage. Putnam notes, "There is a tension in the language between animate and inanimate--a hill that is a mountain, nourishment from what is cold."⁴ The verb alat emphasizes the agricultural aspect of the mountain, which, according to Strabo, was able to be cultivated to the summit.⁵

Without change of construction and with the reader's attention riveted to one incidental pastoral detail, the dove, Tibullus subtly switches from the description of geographical features to the description of cities:

quid referam ut volitet crebras intacta per urbes
 alba Palaestino sancta columba Syro,
 utque maris vastum prospectet turribus aequor
 prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros (lines 17-20).

¹Broukhusius, p. 146, note 14.

²Postgate, Selections..., p. 92, note 13.

³Smith, p. 327, note 13-14.

⁴Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 121, note 15-16.

⁵Strabo, Geography XII.C570.

Crebras in line 17 (line 1 above) suggests that the cities in the Palestinian region were both populous and numerous.¹ The magnificence of Tyre is hinted at by the word turribus. Broukhusius explains, "Domos suas Tyrri in fastigium praealtum extollebant; quales ne Romae quidem excitari solerent."² The great inventiveness and daring of its inhabitants is shown by the fact that they were the first sailors. The four lines on eastern cities serve to remind the reader of the even greater city which conquered Tyre and Palestine and to prevent him from forgetting the setting and occasion of the elegy. After this interlude, Tibullus turns his attention to a geographical feature once again, this time to the Nile River. He begins by pointing out the annual flooding when Sirius rises. Ball notes that the Dog-Star and the Nile are "two immortal powers pitting themselves against each other in eternal combat."³ In reality, they represent two natural forces, heat and moisture. Next Tibullus alludes to the then unsolved mystery of the source of the Nile. Finally, he points out that, because of the Nile, the land of Egypt never demands rain and the grass never prays to Jupiter Pluvius. The reference to Jupiter (line 26) brings to mind the Roman conquerors again.

After relating the natural phenomena associated with the

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 121, note 18.

²Broukhusius, p. 147, note 19.

³Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7," p. 732.

Nile, Tibullus depicts the river as the Egyptian god Osiris.¹ Tibullus credits Osiris with the invention and first use of the iron plow. This deity was the first to entrust seeds to the ground and to pick fruit from formerly unknown trees. He also taught men how to join young vines to stakes and how to prune away excess greenery. For Osiris, Tibullus says, the grape, trodden on by untrained feet, gave forth its joyful juice. An insight into Tibullus' reasons for praising Egypt and Osiris so highly is provided by Benedetto Riposati:

In quell'innestare infatti nella lode di Messalla la celebrazione della fertile terra del Nilo e del suo dio nazionale, Osiride, non par che Tibullo obbedisse soltanto all'impulso delle sue connaturali aspirazioni bucoliche, a quel bisogno di pace e d'amore, a cui lo riportava l'argomento, ma anche a motivi politico-nazionali, essendo allora l'Egitto cura e speranza dell'impero romano e Messalla il suo sagace organizzatore politico.²

Riposati's theory is given credence by the facts that through the conquest of Egypt a new and badly needed source of grain for the Roman Empire had been opened and that Augustus was encouraging grain production there.³ Ball mentions the theory of W. Laidlaw that Vergil, Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus wrote about Egypt out of a fascination for Cleopatra's

¹Smith, p. 332, note 28, explains that the bull Apis, whose Egyptian name is also the name of the Nile as a divinity, "was the reincarnation, the living emblem of Osiris upon earth, and at his death became Serapis, i.e. the dead Apis, who has now become Osiris."

²Benedetto Riposati, Introduzione Allo Studio di Tibullo (Milano: Marzorati, 1967), pp. 173-174.

³Cary, p. 563.

birthplace. He states that this theory implies a fascination for Augustus' victory and that all the poets had Augustus' triple triumph as well as Messalla's single one in mind.¹

Though he is speaking about Osiris, Tibullus' words bring to mind his personal interest in country life. The line "pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus (line 32)" recalls Tibullus' desire, expressed in Elegy I.1, to plant vines and trees² and his reverie of Delia picking choice fruit for Messalla in Elegy I.5.³ The statement, "expressa incultis uva dedit pedibus (line 36)" also is reminiscent of Elegy I.5, for in that poem Delia is visualized as keeping watch over the grapes "pressaue veloci candida musta pede (line 24)." The following lines in Elegy I.7, however, seem to indicate a less idealistic attitude toward the country:

Bacchus et agricolae magno confecta labore
pectora tristitiae dissoluenda dedit (lines 39-40).

In these lines, Tibullus, for the first time in his poetry, associates the agricultural lifestyle with great labor and sadness of heart. Still, it must be remembered that he is not speaking specifically about himself here but is only making a general statement.

In describing pleasant things surrounding Osiris, Tibullus mentions both items normally associated with the

¹Ball, "The Structure of Tibullus I.7," p. 738.

²See Elegy I.1, lines 7-8.

³See Elegy I.5, line 32.

countryside (various flowers and clusters of ivy) and items generally associated with city life (long saffron robes and Tyrian garments). With this subtle transition from country to city, Tibullus brings to mind again Rome and Messalla's triumph. Then he writes of Messalla's birthday celebration, the exact location of which is, interestingly enough, never revealed. Both the rustic and urban lifestyles are referred to when Tibullus relates that the road built by Messalla benefits not only the traveller from Rome whom the Tusculan land detains but also the farmer returning home from the great city.

Tibullus' use of the phrase magna urbe (line 61) rather than Roma betrays a sense of pride in his city (and empire). Commenting on the particularly Roman characteristics of Tibullus, Max Ponchont states,

Il est Romain par le sens de l'ordre qui se fait sentir dans son art de composer. Il est Romain par son sens de l'organisation, qui est cet amour de l'ordre transporté sur le terrain politique et qui se marque fortement dans son éloge de Messalla (1,7). Il est Romain par ce sens de la grandeur nationale qui inspire deux de ses pièces au moins (1,7 et 2,5) et apporte dans son art des possibilités qui font songer à un Virgile, à un Horace, à un Properce.¹

Certainly in recounting Messalla's triumph and his achievement in road building, Tibullus is indirectly praising his nation.²

¹Max Ponchont, "Un Nouveau Tibulle," Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, I (1924), p. 20.

²Ceri Davies, "Poetry in the 'Circle' of Messalla," Greece and Rome, XX (1973), p. 35, contends that the histori-

As a result, he is in harmony with the writers in the literary circle of Augustus.

There are several references to nature in Elegy I.8. In line 4, Tibullus mentions that he does not have a bird to foretell the future. The power of herbs to enchant is referred to in lines 17 and 23, while the ability of incantation to disrupt natural events is brought out in lines 19-22:

cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris,
cantus et iratae detinet anguis iter,
cantus et e curru Lunam deducere temptat,
et faceret, si non aera repulsa sonent.

The above lines and the mention of herbs recall the passage in Elegy I.2 about the witch who possessed the evil-causing herbs of Medea and could lead stars down from the sky and change the course of a raging river.¹ In Elegy I.8 the irreversibility of the natural process of aging is emphasized when Tibullus laments,

heu sero revocatur amor seroque iuventas,
cum vetus infecit cana senecta caput (lines 41-42).

His thoughts on old age lead Tibullus to advise Pholoe to seize the moment. He does so with a nature metaphor--"at tu dum primi floret tibi temporis aetas utere (lines 47-48)."

cal Tibullus, following the example of republican poets since Ennius wrote Elegy I.7 solely to praise his literary patron's military exploits. Even if this is true, the historical Tibullus still would not necessarily have been in conflict with the stated aims of Augustus, who claimed that he was restoring the republic. It must also be noted that nowhere in his poetry thus far has the persona of Tibullus spoken of Messalla as his literary patron.

¹Elegy I.2, lines 43-52.

None of the references to nature in Elegy I.8 requires or even strongly suggests that the poem has a rustic setting. On the other hand, there seem to be several hints at an urban background. Archibald A. Day points out the similarity in details (the locked door secretly opened by the furtive lover) and tone between lines 59-60,

et possum media quamvis obrepere nocte
et strepitu nullo clam reserare fores,

and certain lines in the Curculio of Plautus:

viden ut aperiuntur aedes festivissumae?
num muttit cardo? est lepidus. (Curculio, 94).¹

He theorizes that Tibullus was influenced by Roman comedy. If Tibullus used as a model for part of Elegy I.8 a passage from the Curculio, which is set in the city, it is likely that he would have its urban setting in mind. Furthermore, the reference to Venus helping a lover (line 57); to magic (lines 17-22), which theme Day says also came from comedy;² and to the dangers of the night (line 64) recall passages in Elegy I.2, which seems to have an urban setting. Finally, Heyne feels that Tibullus' description of Marathus indicates that he is one of the many pueri delicati who had come into Rome during Tibullus' lifetime.³

Elegy I.9 is written in the form of direct address, and

¹Archibald A. Day, The Origins of Latin Love-Elegy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1938), pp. 95-96.

²Day, pp. 96-97.

³Heyne, p. 73, note 9.

direct references to the city and country are completely lacking. Therefore, no further insight into Tibullus' attitude toward the countryside or Rome can be gleaned from this poem. However, a passive interest in nature, like that of the poets in the literary circle of Augustus, is evident from the examples and imagery which Tibullus employs. In pointing out to what lengths men go in order to secure profit, Tibullus says,

lucra petens habili tauros adiungit aratro
 et durum terrae rusticus urget opus,
 lucra petituras freta per parentia ventis
 ducunt instabiles sidera certa rates (lines 7-10).

Smith explains, "In the present passage the farmer and the trader typify the contrast between safe but grinding toil for a bare living and the pursuit of a possible fortune at the imminent risk of losing all."¹ What is significant for this analysis is that both methods of earning a livelihood involve a struggle with nature. That Tibullus feels that fighting against nature should, if possible, be avoided is implicit when he relates the effects an encounter with the elements will have on a youth:

iam mihi persolvēt poenas, pulvisque decorem
 detrahēt et ventis horrida facta coma,
 uretur facies, urentur sole capilli,
 deteret invalidos et via longa pedes (lines 13-16).

The power of natural forces is also brought out when Tibullus, ashamed that he has written poetry in honor of a

¹Smith, p. 363, note 6.

faithless boy, wishes Vulcan with his rapid flame and a torrent with its flowing water to destroy his poems. In addition, the power of nature is hinted at in line 47, where Tibullus describes his mind as attonita (literally, thunderstruck). Smith suggests that the destructive ability of nature is implied in Tibullus' wish that the gifts which lured away the boy from him turn into ashes and water; for these materials are reminders of "the actual disasters of storm, fire, and flood by which property is regularly destroyed in the ordinary course of human experience."¹

The predictability and stability of natural phenomena are emphasized when Tibullus relates that the youth was such an expert in prevarication that he could have convinced him that stars do not shine and lightning is not bright (lines 35-36). To stress the youth's lack of discrimination in choosing a lover, Tibullus again refers to nature out of order--"hunc ego credam cum trucibus Venerem iungere posse feris (lines 75-76)."

Tibullus' tendency to look to the simple lifestyle of the past as a model for the future, a characteristic shared with the writers in the literary circle of Augustus, is especially pronounced in Elegy I.10. The first line of

¹Smith, p. 364, note 12. In this note, Smith points out that Tibullus changes the emphasis in the folk tale of fairy gold from the supernatural to the natural. For a discussion of the folk tale, see H. J. Rose " 'Fairy Gold'--an Ancient Belief," Classical Review XXVIII (1914), p. 263.

the poem, in which Tibullus wonders what horrible individual invented the sword, implies the existence of a time in the remote past when there were no swords. Lines 7-10 describe life before gold became sought after and before the sword was employed for warfare:

...nec bella fuerunt,
 faginus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes.
 non arces, non vallus erat, somnumque petebat
 securus varias dux gregis inter oves.

The phrase faginus scyphus suggests a modest style of life¹ such as existed, at least according to the writers favored by Augustus, in the early period of Roman history.² The picture of the shepherd sleeping peacefully among his flock points to a pastoral or partly pastoral lifestyle. Taken together with the emphasis on the remote past and that on the absence of anything related to war, the line brings to mind the Saturnian Age, when perfect peace and harmony as well as a rustic lifestyle existed.³ The temporal particles tunc (line 11) and nunc (line 13), as Ross observes, bring out the contrast between the pastoral time in the past in which Tibullus wished he had lived and the bellicose age in which Tibullus was living.⁴

¹ Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 147, note 7-8. Compare also the association of earthenware dishes and the simple rustic lifestyle of Elegy I.1, lines 37-40.

² See p. 51 above.

³ See pp. 65-67 above.

⁴ Ross, p. 161.

Tibullus' prayer to the ancestral Lares has rustic overtones, for these household gods were originally worshipped as guardian spirits of adjacent farms.¹ The primitive appearance of the old figurines of the Lares suggest to Tibullus the simpler and, in his opinion, better lifestyle of the past. The superior moral quality of the former age is revealed when Tibullus relates that men kept their word more faithfully then. Devotion to the gods and to his family on the part of the rustic is brought out in the charming vignette of the father and daughter making a thanksgiving offering together. The simplicity of the age is stressed by the description of the wooden statue of the Lar in a small shrine and the mention of one grape as an acceptable offering. Tibullus prays that the Lares, at whose feet he played as a child, will ward off the enemy. There is a lacuna in the middle of his prayer; but, when the text resumes, Tibullus seems to be promising that a pig will be sacrificed if he is safe. He says that he, taking part in the ceremony, will carry a basket wreathed with myrtle. He visualizes himself wearing a pure² garment and having a myrtle garland in his hand.

Rejecting the military lifestyle for himself, Tibullus

¹Eli Edward Burriss, "The Religious Life of Tibullus as Reflected in his Elegies," The Classical Weekly, XXII (February 25, 1929), p. 121.

²Heyne, p. 91, note 27, says that pura (line 27) means newly washed, white.

reveals what he considers the ideal type of existence:

quam potius laudandus hic est quem prole parata
 occupat in parva pigra senecta casa!
 ipse suas sectatur oves, at filius agnos,
 et calidam fesso comparat uxor aquam.
 sic ego sim, liceatque caput candescere canis,
 temporis et prisci facta referre senem (lines 39-44).

The words sic ego sim show that, as in Elegy I.1 and Elegy I.5, Tibullus is describing a lifestyle which he does not possess. Pastoral tasks seem to have become more appealing to him. He no longer fears that he might be embarrassed to retrieve lost animals.¹ He looks forward to returning home from the pasture, tired but (it is implied) happy to a waiting wife and a warm bath. This is still an idealized view of rustic life since Tibullus describes an always personally fulfilling, never changing routine with no back-breaking labor or great disappointment. Though there are references to farming throughout Elegy I.10, these particular lines picture a pastoral existence. Perhaps this is because Tibullus is holding up as an ideal the age of Saturn, when crops grew spontaneously.² Herbert Musurillo, S. J., senses in Tibullus' poetry a time pattern in which the present is linked with thoughts of old age in the future and also with a nostalgic longing for a Golden Age long past.³ In regard

¹Cf. Elegy I.1, lines 31-32.

²See Elegy I.3, lines 35-48.

³Herbert Musurillo, S. J., "The Theme of Time as a Poetic Device in the Elegies of Tibullus," Transactions of the American Philological Association, XCVIII (1967), p. 257.

to Elegy I.10, he states,

The central theme of the poem is based, once again, upon the poetic time-pattern. The dream of the Golden Age was destroyed with the invention of the sword. In a bitter aside the poet berates the folly of men who, by war, only hasten black Death...Men should devote themselves to the farm, their families, and their flocks (an imitation, the poet seems to imply, of the lost Golden Age), and live and love while Fate allows.¹

Tibullus' desire for peace seems inextricably intertwined with his desire for the rustic life. He expresses his desire for peace in agricultural terms--"interea Pax arva colat (lines 45)." Putnam points out that the verb colat involves both the ideas of tending and of cherishing.² Tibullus proceeds to relate that Peace made the agricultural lifestyle possible, for she was the first to lead cattle under the yoke. She also nourished the vines and bottled wine so that a son might enjoy wine made by his father. The line about the wine hints at the continuation of the lifestyle from generation to generation. That Peace encourages agriculture at all times is shown when Tibullus says that in peacetime the hoe and the ploughshare shine.³

Tibullus next presents a sketch of rustic merrymaking.

¹Musurillo, "The Theme of Time as a Poetic Device in the Elegies of Tibullus," p. 258.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 150, notes 45-46.

³Smith, p. 386, note 51-52, posits a lacuna after line 50; Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 151, note 51-52, feels that one is not essential and that the reader need only to supply the word pace. See also the apparatus criticus of Lenz, p. 89.

He describes the scene very objectively. A barely sober rustic in a wagon drives his wife and children home from a festival which has taken place in a grove. Lovers, egged on by Amor, become quarrelsome. Tibullus seems to be both fascinated by the bella Veneris and repelled by their violence. Solmsen notes,

In Tibullus' elegy the people who indulge in such proelia or bella are in fact peasants. The word rusticus occurs immediately before the description of their quarrels (v. 51). Tibullus takes delight in their unsophisticated ways of settling love quarrels and includes these ways in his picture of peaceful rural felicity.¹

Solmsen's words imply that Tibullus, though he hoped to live in the country someday, was not a rustic. This conclusion agrees with the picture of himself that Tibullus has painted throughout the first book--that of a city dweller with property in the country who dreams of moving there. The only time Tibullus uses the word rusticus of himself² is in expressing a wish for the future:

Ipse seram teneras maturo tempore vites
rusticus et facili grandia poma manu (Elegy I.1,
lines 7-8).

Commenting on Tibullus' reaction to rustic roughness in this poem and elsewhere, Gotoff concludes,

¹
Friedrich Solmsen, "Propertius in his Literary Relations with Tibullus and Vergil," Philologus, CX (1961), p. 275. Solmsen also mentions that in Elegy II.5, Propertius criticizes Tibullus' interest in rustic battles of love as unworthy of a poeta doctus.

²
See O'Neil, A Critical Concordance of the Tibullan Corpus, p. 275.

Love-in-the-rough, it turns out, is decidedly un-Tibullan. He may indulge himself in the fantasies of rustic charm, but we frequently find him adding touches of sophistication to the ambience or fastidiously criticizing it.¹

Thoughts about the unnecessary roughness of lovers remind Tibullus of war and the fact that he is being forced, at least temporarily, to abandon the hope of living on his farm in the country. He ends his poem with a prayer for peace--not simply peace, however, but peace which brings with it agricultural prosperity; for the image of Peace holding an ear of grain and having her skirt full of fruit is a rustic one.

In the first elegy of Book I, Tibullus seems to have fulfilled his desire to take part in the agricultural lifestyle. The fact that he is acting as chief priest at a ceremony to purify grain and fields in the tradition of his ancestors suggests that he is the head of a household.² So does his order to bring down for him and his guests the fine Falernian wine. Gotoff points out that the mention of the vintage wine contrasts sharply with the simple lifestyle of the rustic described in preceding passages.³ No statements in the poem rule out the possibility that Tibullus was a landlord who was very interested in his estate but visited it only on special occasions.

¹ Gotoff, pp. 237-238.

² Smith, p. 393, note 1.

³ Gotoff, p. 233.

Whatever Tibullus' actual situation was, "the country life pictured in this poem" as Constance Carrier observes, "is far more tangible. There is a certain note of immediacy. We do not feel that Tibullus writes in a reverie [with the exception of lines 19-24 as will be shown]; rather the festival comes alive for us."¹ After formulaically requesting silence, Tibullus invites Bacchus and Ceres to come to the ceremony, each crowned with the produce for which he or she is responsible--clusters of grapes and ears of grain, respectively. Smith explains that the horns of Bacchus are mentioned because they are symbols of fertility and masculine strength.² The outward appearance of the deities sets the mood for the picture of the countryside which Tibullus unveils in the next few lines. Note that by mentioning the cessation of an activity, Tibullus also suggests the activity:

luce sacra requiescat humus, requiescat arator,
et grave suspenso vomere cesset opus.
solvite vincla iugis: nunc ad praesepe debent
plena coronato stare boves capite.
omnia sint operata deo: non audeat ulla
lanificam pensis imposuisse manum (lines 5-10).

After stressing the need for purity on the part of the participants, Tibullus focuses on one detail of the ceremony:

cernite fulgentes ut eat sacer agnus ad aras
vinctaque post olea candida turba comas (lines 15-16).

1

Constance Carrier, The Poems of Tibullus (Bloomington: The University of Indiana Press, 1968), p. 25.

2

Smith, p. 394, note 3.

Then he relates his prayer. As he prays, Tibullus seems to become more idealistic and to drift into reverie. His first utterance is a direct request that the gods banish evils from his farm.¹ His second is a hope expressed metaphorically: "neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis (line 19)." Postgate translates eludat messem as "mock the reaper." He explains, "messis is properly a verbal noun and means 'cutting.' Messem feci was used as the perf. of meto."² Smith³ and Putnam⁴ point out that the metaphor is gladiatorial. Putnam goes on to comment that the figure of speech suggests that nature sometimes plays games with man and deceives him.⁵ Tibullus' next statement is a wish for a condition which is unnatural, if not impossible: "neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos (lines 20)." Putnam notes, "Absence of fear in such a case is an adynaton, an 'impossibility,' presaging a golden age (cf. Vergil Ecl. 4.22-25)."⁶ The line recalls Tibullus' thoughts about the Age of Saturn

¹See p. 35 above.

²Postgate, Selections..., p. 106, note 19.

³Smith, p. 396, note 19.

⁴Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 154, note 19-20.

⁵Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, pp. 154-155, note 19-20.

⁶Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 155, note 19-20. For a discussion of the figure of speech involved, see H. V. Canter, "The Figure ἀδύνατον in Greek and Latin Poetry," American Journal of Philology, LI (1930), pp. 32-41.

in Elegy I.3¹ and about the remote past (possibly also the Age of Saturn) in Elegy I.10.² From the pastoral scene, Tibullus' thoughts turn to rustic home life. Caught up in his vision, Tibullus, using the future indicative rather than the subjunctive, describes the farmer, confident in his productive fields, piling up logs on his glowing hearth while slave children construct stick houses before the fire.³ These lines bring to mind Tibullus' plans for the future in Elegy I.5.⁴ The use of the future tense and the words eventura precior (lines 25) indicate that conditions in the countryside are not yet ideal but that Tibullus expects them to be in the immediate future.

In his toast to Messalla, Tibullus closely connects him with the countryside by calling him "magna intonsis gloria victor avis (lines 34)." The word intonsis emphasizes

¹See Elegy I.3, lines 35-48.

²See Elegy I.10, lines 7-12.

³In translating lines 21-24, I have followed the interpretation of Postgate (See Selections..., p. 106, notes 23 and 24, and "On Some Tibullan Problems," Classical Quarterly, III (1909), pp. 128-130. Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 155, note 23-24, whose note is not clear, seems also to favor this interpretation. For the view that the lines refer to adult slaves building shelters against the sun in front of a bonfire, see W. Warde Fowler and J. P. Postgate, "Note on the Country Festival in Tibullus II.1," Classical Review, XXII (1908), pp. 38-40, and Heyne, p. 97, notes 22-24. Whichever interpretation of the passage one accepts, Tibullus seems to be imagining what life in the country will be like in the future.

⁴See Elegy I.5, lines 21-34.

that the ancestors to which Tibullus is referring lived many generations earlier, since, according to Heyne, barbers did not come into Rome until 454 B.C.¹ The whole phrase, therefore, recalls the rustic origins of Rome to which Tibullus and the writers in the circle of Augustus often turned for models for the future. In his song, Tibullus goes even further back in history--to the beginning of agriculture. The words "tum victus abiere feri (lines 43)" indicate that men were similar to wild animals until the gods of the countryside taught them to become unaccustomed to eating acorns, to build homes from small branches and leaves, to domesticate bulls, and to attach wheels to wagons. Only then did civilization begin. Trees were planted, gardening was begun; irrigation systems were developed, and wine making was discovered. On lines 45-46,

aurea tum pressos pedibus dedit uva liquores
mixtaque securo est sobria lympa mero,

Putnam comments, "The use of the singular (personified) uva and the transfer of pressos from uva to the less logical liquores combine the specific event with the generic idea of history."² He also points out that this couplet is reminiscent of lines 35-36 of Elegy I.7:

¹Heyne, p. 99, note 34. Remote ancestors are always intonsi in Roman literature.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 157.

illī iucundos primum matura saporēs
expressa incultis uva dedit pedibus.

Musurillo notices that in Elegy II.1 "Liber and the other rustic gods perform the same function as Osiris in the triumphal song to Messalla (I.7)."¹

After relating that the rural gods should be revered as bringers of civilization, Tibullus turns his attention to the benefits provided by the countryside. The nature imagery in the passage is especially beautiful:

rura ferunt messes, calidi cum sideris aestu
deponit flavas annua terra comas.
rure levi verno flores apīs ingerit alvea,
compleat ut dulci sedula melle favos (lines 47-50).

Smith² and Putnam³ comment on the use of comas in line 48 (line 2 above), but Williams gives the best insight into the metaphor: "In Latin comae is often used of the foliage of trees, but here an original touch is introduced when Tibullus uses it of the ripe corn and barley, 'the yellow hair' of the earth."⁴ Tibullus next treats of human activities in the countryside. He attributes to farmers at

¹Musurillo, "The Theme of Time as a Poetic Device in the Elegies of Tibullus," p. 264. Musurillo maintains that both Elegy I.7 and Elegy II.1 describe the Golden Age, while Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 157, note 41-42, feels that in Elegy II.1, Tibullus has abandoned his belief in a Golden Age.

²Smith, p. 402, note 47-48.

³Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 157, note 47-48.

⁴Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 504.

leisure the discovery of singing, dancing, and playing the reed pipe as well as of drama. He points out that the last two activities were associated with the worship of rural deities, thus revealing the religious character of early man. This is also shown when Tibullus relates that the custom of placing a flowery garland on the Lares began in the country. Tibullus next reveals that two time-honored tasks of women, spinning and weaving, had a rustic origin. His picture of a woman busy in the services of Minerva (an indication of her good morality) appeals to both the eye and the ear:

atque aliqua adsiduae textrix operata Minervae
cantat, et applauso tela sonat latere (lines 65-66).

Observing the alternation of past and present tenses in lines 37-66 (past tenses in lines 37-46 and 51-60, present tense in lines 47-50 and 61), Frederick Delmar Sweet concludes that "The effect of the passage is to call attention to the country not only as the origin of the arts of life but also the preserver of a way of life which is, in Tibullus' view, natural and good."¹

It is interesting to note that Augustus revived the obsolescent rite of crowning the Lares Compitales with flowers twice a year² and that he included spinning and

¹Frederick Delmar Sweet, "Divinities and Religious Ideas in Propertius and Tibullus," Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Toronto, 1973, p. 145.

²Suetonius, Divus Augustus XXXI.

weaving in the education of his daughter and granddaughters,¹
often wearing clothes made by them.²

In relating the activities of Cupid, who he says was born in the country, Tibullus, contrary to expectation because of the rustic setting of the poem, employs the urban theme of furtivus amor:

hoc duce custodes furtim transgressa iacentes
ad iuvenem tenebris sola puella venit
et pedibus praetemptat iter suspensa timore,
explorat caecas cui manus ante vias (lines 75-78).

These lines bring to mind lines 15-20 of Elegy I.2:

tu quoque ne timide custodes, Delia falle;
audendum est: fortes adiuvat ipsa Venus.
illa favet, seu quis iuvenis nova limina temptat,
seu reserat fixo dente puella fores:
illa docet molli furtim derepere lecto,
illa pedem nullo ponere posse sono.

Moreover, the sketch of the old man in love at the end of Elegy I.2 is recalled by the words, "hic dicere iussit limen ad iratae verba pudenda senem (lines 73-74)." It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that even when Tibullus is in the country, the city is on his mind. The rustic setting of Elegy II.1 comes to the fore again when Tibullus exhorts his listeners to pray for love for themselves as well as for the cattle.

Elegy II.1 ends with a cluster of images, some of which is descriptive of natural phenomena:

ludite: iam Nox iungit equos, currumque sequuntur

¹Suetonius, Divus Augustus LXIV.

²Suetonius, Divus Augustus LXXIII.

matris lascivo sidera fulva, choro,
 postque venit tacitus furvis circumdatus alis
 Somnus et incerto Somnia nigra pede (lines 87-90).

In Elegy II.2, a birthday poem for Cornutus, Tibullus does not indicate his own attitude toward either the city or the countryside. He does say that Cornutus values a faithful wife more than all the plowed land in the world and more than precious jewels.

Elegy II.3 shows clearly Tibullus' mixed feelings toward the city and the country. Tibullus begins the poem by telling Cornutus that his girl is in the country. His statement--"Rura meam, Cornute, tenent villaeque puellam (line 1)"--not only stresses her presence there but also hints that the countryside with its lovely homes has a psychological hold on her. Tibullus goes on to relate that Venus and Amor have moved to the country. Tibullus indirectly indicates his desire to join his girl in the country--"ferreus est, heu heu, quisquis in urbe manet (line 2)." This line recalls the passage in Elegy I.2 in which Tibullus comments that his former rival was made of iron since he left his love to seek after booty.¹ Tibullus ends his criticism by stating that if he could be with his love, he would be willing to endure the hardships of the agricultural-pastoral lifestyle.² Similarly (though

¹Elegy I.2, lines 65-67.

²Cf. Elegy I.2, lines 71-74.

the situation is not parallel since Tibullus does not imagine Nemesis aiding him in any way), in Elegy II.3 Tibullus declares,

o ego, cum aspicerem dominam, quam fortiter illic
versarem valido pingue bidente solum
agricolaeque modo curvum sectarer aratrum,
dum subigunt steriles arva serenda boves!
nec quereretur quod sol graciles exureret artus,
laederet et teneras pussula rupta manus (lines 5-10).

The words agricolaeque modo, reveal that, though Tibullus visualizes himself hoeing and plowing, he does not think of himself as a rustic. Moreover, as Gotoff points out, "One cannot overlook the devastating revelation of gracilis and teneras. No amount of romanticism can blind the speaker to the incongruity of himself in the role of farmer."¹ Nevertheless, Tibullus is convinced that love will give him the strength to endure all difficulties. The picture of life in the country in Elegy II.3 is less idealistic than that which Tibullus paints in Elegy I.5,² where he seems to visualize a life of relative ease. It lays more stress on work and pain than the description of the simple life in Elegy I.10.³ Like the passage in Elegy I.1 where Tibullus hopes that it will not shame him to engage in menial tasks,⁴ this passage, along with Tibullus' implied comparison of himself

¹Gotoff, p. 239.

²Elegy I.5, lines 21-34.

³Cf. Elegy I.10, lines 39-44.

⁴Elegy I.1, lines 29-32.

with Apollo, suggests that some degree of humiliation will be involved.

Tibullus' description of Apollo serving as the shepherd of Admetus forms a genuinely bucolic interlude in the poem. The god is pictured driving cows out of stables, making curds and whey, and carrying a lamb. Motivated in all he does by love, he whiles away time by singing or, at least, trying to. This portrait follows the type characterization of the iuvenis in Greek and Latin pastoral poetry as noted by William C. Korfmacher: "Love and music are the predominant occupations of their lives, seemingly, in all the hours that they can steal away from their bucolic duties with cattle, sheep, or goats."¹ In debunking Tibullus as a true bucolic poet, Solmsen notes the general lack of references to singing and to baskets of cheese in his work.² Gotoff points out that the somewhat comical sketches of Apollo struggling along with the lamb in his arms and of the cow interrupting the god's singing are reminders that, though Tibullus longs for the simplicity of country life, he is "a sophisticated poet living in a world capital" and he appreciates his position.³ Tibullus

¹ William C. Korfmacher, "Classical Type Characterization: The Pastoral Phase," in Studies in Honor of Ullman, ed. by Lillian B. Lawler, Dorothy M. Robathan, and William C. Korfmacher (Saint Louis: The Classical Bulletin, 1960), pp. 65-66.

² Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 303.

³ Gotoff, p. 239.

ends his musing about Apollo thus:

felices olim, Veneri cum fertur aperte
servire aeternos non pudeisse deos (lines 29-30).

Putnam comments that this is a "Vision of a golden age when the immortal gods were not only epiphanic but were also slaves of Venus for all to see. Men were accordingly happy, with such a divine model to follow."¹ In contrast to this golden age Tibullus sets the booty-loving age in which he is living. He criticizes both those who wish to own innumerable acres in the country and those who wish to build elaborate homes in the city. Tibullus once again² expresses his desire for the simple life through the symbolism of dishware:

at tibi laeta trahant Samiae convivia testae
fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota (lines 47-48).

Smith explains, "The inexpensive though handsome terra-cotta ware of Samos and Cumae...was commonly used by many Romans of the middle class who through moderate means or old-fashioned conservatism did not incline to silver."³ He goes on to point out that in Roman literature Samian ware in particular was associated with poverty and simplicity although terra-cotta ware in general had a long literary association with simplicity, one reaching as far back as

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 170, notes 33-34.

²Cf. Elegy I.1, lines 38-40, and Elegy I.1, lines 7-8, p. 61.

³Smith, p. 424, note 47-48.

Bacchylides. He concludes, "These lines therefore are a direct invitation to Nemesis to choose the simple life."¹

After further consideration of contemporary conditions, Tibullus drifts off into a daydream in which he visualizes his future life with his love but this time, surprisingly, in the city:

iam veniant praedae, si Venus optat opes,
ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat utque per urbem
incedat donis conspicienda meis.
illa gerat vestes tenues quas femina Coa
texuit, auratas disposuitque vias:
illi sint comites fusci quos India torret,
solis et admotis inficit ignis equis:
illi selectos certent praebere colores
Africa puniceum purpureumque Tyros (lines 50-58).

Tibullus' words, which mirror the opulence of Rome, betray a feeling of pride in both his girl and Rome, which had conquered the places--Cos, India, Africa, Tyre--that supply the products and services enjoyed.

When he has finished fantasizing, Tibullus wishes that the man who took Nemesis into the country will receive no yield from the land.² He also orders Bacchus to leave his rustic vats. He next says that he would be willing to give up the fruits of the earth if only girls would not be in the countryside. As Putnam observes, "ironically the implicit distinction between urbs and rus would then have

¹ Smith, p. 434, note 47-48.

² There are textual problems in lines 61-62. See Lenz, p. 101. For a discussion of various readings, see W. S. Maguinness, "Notes on the Corpus Tibullianum," Classical Quarterly, XXXVIII (1944), p. 32.

been nonexistent."¹ Tibullus desires the lifestyle found at the beginning of history,² when men ate acorns, drank water, and loved freely. Smith mentions that Tibullus takes the traditional account of primitive man and makes it idyllic.³ He explains the meaning of line 67-69 thus: "They had no agriculture then. But they did have love, and love was unconfined--and inexpensive--all which made that a Golden Age as compared with this."⁴ After posing the question of what the lack of sown furrows caused, Tibullus discloses what love was like:

tunc quibus aspirabat Amor praebebat aperte
mitis in umbrosa gaudia valle Venus (lines 71-72).

Switching from a country scene to the city, Tibullus compares the situation of lovers at the beginning of history with that of the exclusus amator in his day. There is a lacuna after line 74. When the text resumes, Tibullus is wishing to go back to the shaggy old style of dressing since sporting the latest fashion, the loosened toga, does no good if one's girl is sequestered. Thomas G. Rosenmeyer maintains the words "horrida villosa corpora veste tegant (line 76)" show both nostalgia and revulsion for the old ways. He comments, "This aesthetic's primitivism is an

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 174, note 71-72.

²Cf. Elegy II.1, lines 37-46.

³Smith, p. 429, note 69.

⁴Smith, p. 428, note 66.

elaborate joke; it is what might be expected from a city dweller whose longing for unallayed simplicity is genuine but reluctant."¹ At the end of the poem, as at the beginning, Tibullus is willing, even eager, to endure whatever rigors the countryside holds in store for him provided that he is near his love.

As Putnam observes, the thought of Elegy II.4 "takes up briskly where the last poem left off."² The references to Tibullus' mistress as his domina and to chains recall the ending of Elegy II.3:

ducite: ad imperium dominae sulcabitur agros;
non ego me vinclis verberibusque nego (lines 79-80).

They suggest that Tibullus is performing the rustic tasks which he had envisioned. On the contrary, Tibullus' references to the exclusus amator theme in lines 19-22, 31-34, and 39 suggest an urban background as do the references to emeralds, pearls, Tyrian dye, and Coan garments, the last two items being mentioned in association with the city in Elegy II.3.³ Moreover, Tibullus' malevolent wish for the girl who rejects a lover because he cannot meet her price, namely, that youths watch her house burn and do nothing

¹Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 215. Rosenmeyer finds an ambiguous attitude toward the Golden Age in all of the Augustans.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 176.

³Elegy II.3, lines 53 and 57-58.

about it, brings to mind the passage in Elegy I.2 in which a crowd of youths are unsympathetic to an old man in love¹ and the passage in Elegy I.6 in which youths take delight in the fact that a woman who has never been faithful in love is forced to spin for a living.² Both of those passages seem to be set in the city. Finally, the statement,

quin etiam sedes iubeat si vendere avitas,
ite sub imperium sub titulumque, Lares (lines 53-54),

suggests that Tibullus is in the city and is trying desperately to supply Nemesis with everything she wishes, even if this means giving up what is very dear to him--his ancestral estate (and the dream of living there some day).

Although Tibullus states that he does not sing of the paths of the sun or the orbit of the moon, he does include passages which show a passive appreciation of nature like that found in the work of the poets in the literary circle favored by Augustus. With effective nature imagery, Tibullus relates that he would rather be involved in the natural struggle of the elements than suffer the sorrows of love:

quam mallet in gelidis montibus esse lapis,
stare vel insanis cautes obnoxia ventis,
naufraga quam vasti tunderet unda maris (lines 8-10).

He compares the bitterness of his days and nights to that of the gall. When he wishes misfortune for those who prefer rewards to love, he hopes that the destructive forces

¹Elegy I.2, lines 89-96.

²Elegy I.6, lines 77-82.

of nature will help his cause--"eripiant partas ventus et ignis opes (line 40)." To emphasize the advantages of faithful love, he sketches a lovely rustic scene in which an old man places a garland of flowers on the tomb of his faithful lover. To demonstrate his love for Nemesis, Tibullus at the end of the poem, volunteers to drink whatever organic concoction she creates.¹

In Elegy II.5, a poem written to honor Messalinus on his selection to the board of the quindecimviri sacris faciundis, Tibullus reveals his admiration for the city of Rome as well as his respect for its rustic origins. He also discloses his hope for the agricultural prosperity of the Roman countryside, where, it is to be remembered, city dwellers often had property. This poem is Tibullus' most nationalistic elegy. Moreover, Frederic Plessis points out that it (specifically, from line 19 on), along with only two other elegiac pieces in Roman literature,² deserves to be classified as an "élegie nationale."³ The admiration for the city and the countryside and the interest in the past

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 182, note 59-60, feels that the drink--whether it was intended to arouse love or cause death--was poisonous. Smith, p. 442, note 55-56 and note 55, maintains that the drink was a love potion and not necessarily a poisonous one.

²Propertius IV.1.1 and Rutilius Namatianus I.1 following.

³Frederic Plessis, La Poésie Latine (De Livius Andronicus a Rutilius Namatianus) (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1909), p. 356.

combined with hope for the future are also characteristics of the works produced by the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus.

Tibullus begins the poem with an invocation to Phoebus to bless the new priest. Putnam notes, "the opening line (briskly dactylic) commands Apollo's favor for his new priest while attracting the reader into his Palatine temple."¹ This grandiose structure was built by Augustus in thanksgiving for the god's assistance²--a fact of which Tibullus' Roman contemporaries could have hardly been unaware. The description of Apollo which is included in the invocation is believed to be a description of the marble Apollo Citharoidos by Scopas, which Augustus had installed in the temple.³ Thus the opening of the elegy suggests the mag-

¹Michael C. J. Putnam, "Simple Tibullus and the Ruse of Style," Yale French Studies, XLV (1970), p. 31.

²Propertius, IV.6, lines 67-68, maintains that the temple was built in thanksgiving for the victory over Antony. After relating how Apollo aided Augustus at Actium, he says,

Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta, quod eius
una decem vicit missa sagitta rates.

Velleius Paterculus, Historiae Romanae II.81.3, states that Augustus vowed to build the temple in thanksgiving for his victory in Sicily:

templumque Apollinis et circa porticus facturum
promisit, quod ab eo singulari exstructum munificentia est.

³Smith, p. 446, note 2-10; Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 184, note 1-2; Postgate, Selections..., p. 121.

nificance of Augustan Rome, which, as Tibullus goes on to show, contrasts greatly with its humble pastoral beginnings. Before relating the Sibyl's prophecy to Aeneas (mention of whom brings to mind the connection of Rome with another great city, Troy), Tibullus describes the site of Rome when, as he puts it, "Romulus aeternae nondum formaverat urbis moenia (lines 23-24)." The phrase aeternae urbis, which occurs here for the first time,¹ betrays a sense of pride in and hope for the future of his city on the part of Tibullus. The word moenia, especially in its strategic position at the beginning of the line, suggests the strength and solidarity of the city and hints at the details of the story of Romulus and Remus.

Tibullus writes his pastoral sketch of the pre-Romulean site from an urban and retrospective position. To make more concrete the differences between the past and the present, he includes references to three different well-known places in the city. He says that cows were grazing on the Palatine Hill, which in his own day was the site of Augustus' home.² Gotoff thinks that this scene would have amused

¹Smith, p. 451, note 23; Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 289, note 23-24, which includes a reference to Kenneth J. Pratt, "Rome as Eternal," Journal of the History of Ideas, XXVI (1965), pp. 24-44, which delves into the subsequent history of the phrase. See also Bright, Haec Mihi Fingebam: Tibullus in his World, p. 80.

²See Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 186, note 25-26, who feels that Tibullus is punning when he employs the word Palatia.

Tibullus' sophisticated audience.¹ Tibullus next relates that humble cottages stood on the Capitoline Hill (arce Jovis), on which in Tibullus' day the magnificent temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was located.² Broukhusius³ and Smith⁴ maintain that the line was intended to serve as a reminder of the "Casa Romuli," a model of which also stood on the Capitoline. Tibullus' last specific reference is to the Velabrum, the marshy district between the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine hills which became one of Rome's busiest districts after the Cloaca Maxima was built.⁵ Tibullus describes the place as an isolated, flooded area to which a girl is conveyed by boat to meet her lover, the overseer of a flock of sheep. On this passage, Gotoff comments,

There is at times a civilized, almost fastidious side to Tibullus' pastoral landscape...in 2.5 it is the wealthy owner of the flock, not the shepherd, who enjoys the company of the young lady and bestows upon

¹Gotoff, p. 235. Robert J. Ball, "Tibullus 2.5 and Vergil's Aeneid," Vergilius, XXI (1975), p. 37, theorizes, "By converting Augustus' residence into a grazing-ground, the poet may well be expressing his hostility toward the emperor." Since the tone of the whole poem is so nationalistic, such a put down of the ruler, no matter how Tibullus felt about him personally, seems out of place.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 186, note 25-26.

³Broukhusius, pp. 254-255, note 26.

⁴Smith, p. 452-453, note 26.

⁵See "Velabrum" in Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Vol. III A, Part II (1958) and in Samuel Ball Platner, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 449-450.

her suitably rustic gifts.¹

The rest of Tibullus' description of Rome's rustic origins emphasizes the religious character of the primitive people. Putnam² and Smith³ explain that the phrase madens lacte (line 27) describing Pan is a reference to the milk offered to the gods as a sacrifice. The description of the Pales as "facta agresti lignea falce (line 28)" brings to mind the passage in Elegy I.10 in which Tibullus states that men kept their word better when a wooden statue stood in a small shrine.⁴ Tibullus highlights the votive offering of the shepherd by describing it in detail:

garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo,
fistula cui semper decrescit arundinis ordo:
nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor (lines 30-32).

Gotoff considers this passage as a bit of erudition which "injects a note of sophistication and detachment into the pastoral view of pre-history."⁵ This detachment seems to intensify the contrast between the past and the present. The similarity between Tibullus' sketch of Rome's origins and the description in Vergil's Aeneid of Evander's kingdom,

¹ Gotoff, p. 233.

² Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, pp. 186-187, note 27-28.

³ Smith, p. 453, note 27.

⁴ Elegy I.10, lines 19-20.

⁵ Gotoff, pp. 235-236.

which was located on the future site of Rome, has often been noticed.¹

Ball points out that the next section of Elegy II.5, the Sibyl's speech (lines 39-64), concerns itself with the central subject of the poem--Rome's glory in the past, present, and future."² Lines 39-48 are, in effect, a summary of the plot of the Aeneid. The connection between Troy and Rome is made clear; and attention is focused on Aeneas, the father of the founder of the Julian line, of which Augustus was a member. Next the Sibyl sees before her eyes three succeeding larger cities--Laurens Castrum, established by Aeneas on his arrival in Italy;³ Lavinium, founded after the alliance with Latinus and named after Aeneas' wife;⁴ and Alba Longa, established by Aeneas' son Ascanius (also called Iulus, to whom the Julian family traced its origin) when Lavinium became overcrowded.⁵ Skipping several generations,

¹See Heyne, p. 128, note 23; Smith, p. 451, note 23-38; and Ball, "Tibullus 2.5 and Vergil's Aeneid," p. 39. Ball's article treats of all of the literary connections between Elegy II.5 and Vergil's Aeneid. Bright, Haec Mihi Fingebam: Tibullus in his World, p. 81, feels that Tibullus' sketch corresponds to Evander's description of Saturn's arrival in Latium rather than to the description of the scene which Aeneas encounters. Though Bright's interpretation makes the scene more idyllic, it still contrasts greatly with the Rome in which Tibullus lives.

²Ball, "Tibullus 2.5 and Vergil's Aeneid," p. 44.

³See Smith, p. 455, note 41.

⁴See Smith, p. 458, note 49.

⁵See Smith, p. 458, note 50.

the Sibyl visualizes the meeting of Mars and Ilia (a descendant of Ascanius and so a member of the Julian line) which produced the founder of Rome. Putnam notes that this scene is as far in history as the Sibyl goes and that it "reverts chronologically to lines 23-24,"¹ where the foundation of Rome is mentioned. In addition, the passage devoted to the tryst suggests a rural setting, which, in turn, brings to mind Tibullus' description of pre-Romulean Rome. The contrast between its pastoral origins and Rome in the Augustan Age is made plain when the Sibyl says:

carpite nunc, tauri, de septem montibus herbas
 dum licet; hic magnae iam locus urbis erit.
 Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis,
 qua sua de caelo prospicit arva Ceres,
 quaque patent ortus et qua fluitantibus undis
 Solis anhelantes abluit amnis equos.
 Troia quidem tunc se mirabitur et sibi dicet
 vos bene longa consuluisse via (lines 55-62).

Smith points out "Literary reference to Rome as the 'City of the Seven Hills' first becomes prominent in the Augustan poets."² Solmsen notes that several themes in the Sibyl's prophecy--the story of Aeneas, the continuity of Trojan and Roman history, the account of Rome's phenomenal growth from small rural beginnings, and the prophecy of its greatness--are all favorite topics of Augustan literature.³ Riposati

¹ Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 189, note 51-52.

² Smith, p. 461, note 55.

³ Solmsen, Tibullus as an Augustan Poet, p. 299.

maintains that Tibullus saw in the name of Rome that which Vergil saw in the Roman citizenry:

Nel nome di Roma è l'immensità del passato e del futuro, mito e storia; l'umiltà delle origini e le affermazioni gloriose de poi, la virtù degli avi e gli eroismi dei presenti; rivede Enea e i suoi, peregrinando e combattendo nella notte dei secoli, riascolta la voce della Sibilla che aprì i veli del futuro, e il placido murmure del Tevere, invitante i Romani a porre lì presso le proprie dimore per fondare l'urbs magna, destinata a governare le genti; vede e ammira Roma nella sua pienezza imperiale come città e stato, senato e popolo, pace e civiltà, pietà e giustizia, «Roma, nella sua grande anima dominatrice, negli echi delle sue tradizioni, nei suoi fasti, nella sua fatale missione».

Cartault senses a unity of national feeling in Tibullus, Vergil, Propertius, and Augustus. He says of Tibullus,

Sous l'influence de l'Énéide, il a dans l'Él. II 5 rappelé les légendes qui rattachaient Rome à Troie et il a vu dans ce rattachement le gage de la grandeur impérissable de sa patrie...dans cette étude d'archéologie nationale, il marche exactement dans les mêmes voies que Virgile et Properce; si Auguste a inspiré l'Énéide, il a dû lire avec plaisir l'Él. II 5.²

In the next section of Elegy II.5, lines 67-78, Tibullus quickly closes the historical gap between the founding of Rome and Rome in his own day by stating that whatever various sibyls revealed came true.³ Tibullus mentions as examples some phenomena associated with the

¹Riposati, pp. 178-179. Riposati quotes E. Bignone, Poeti Apollinei, Bari, 1937, p. 214.

²Cartault, p. 61.

³Postgate, Selections..., p. 133, note 71, posits a lacuna of uncertain length after line 70; but Smith, pp. 467, note 71-78, feels that one is unnecessary. See also apparatus criticus of Lenz, p. 110.

death of Julius Caesar and the Civil Wars¹ which occurred as predicted: a comet appeared; stones showered down from the heavens; trumpets and arms clattered in the sky, and groves seemed to speak; the sun seemed lacking in light throughout the year; cattle wept and foretold the future. This passage not only draws attention to another member of the Julian family (the one whose death Augustus had avenged²) but also shows Tibullus' fascination for unusual natural phenomena, an interest shared with the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus.

Relating that national misfortunes are all past, Tibullus prays to Apollo to allow the laurel to crackle in the fire--a good omen for the time to come. In thinking about the future, Tibullus turns from the city to the countryside. Ross points out that the picture which Tibullus paints

intentionally reflects the golden age of Saturn's Latium--Ceres is bountiful, wine flows, and the wolves presumably do stay away from the sheep folds (83-8)... With the completion of Apollo's new temple on the Palatine, Rome has returned to the ways of Evander's site; for this reason the Apollo invoked at the beginning of the poem was asked to appear as he was at that critical juncture of prehistory when Saturn took refuge in Latium (...qualem te memorant Saturnq rege fugato/victori laudes concinuisse Jovi, 9-10).³

Tibullus' reverie ends with a description of the rustic

¹Smith, p. 467, note 71-78.

²See Res Gestae II.

³Ross, p. 157.

feast called the Palilia, which, fittingly enough for the poem, was celebrated on April 21, the birthday of Rome.¹ First, part of the actual ritual is described--an inebriated shepherd kindling a heap of straw and then leaping over sacred flames. Smith explains that the required state of intoxication was induced by the drinking of sapa, new wine boiled down thick especially for the occasion.² Next, Tibullus presents a glimpse of family activities--a matron giving birth, a child kissing his parent, a grandfather communicating with his grandchild by means of baby talk. Finally, Tibullus turns his attention to youths lying in the grass either in the shade of a tree or under flower-garlanded, makeshift shelters formed by articles of clothing supported on sticks. He relates that wine cups are also wreathed with flowers and that temporary tables and couches are built from turf. Then, as in Elegy I.10,³ Tibullus discusses love quarrels, again pointing out that a lover often regrets injuring (this time with words only) his girl. Reminded of his own love, Tibullus begs her to spare him so that he will be able to sing of Messalinus when he is awarded a triumph. Mention of Messalinus recalls

¹For a detailed description of the Palilia, or Parilia, see Smith, pp. 472-473, note 87-90, and Burriss, pp. 121-122.

²Smith, p. 473, note 87-90.

³Elegy I.10, lines 53-66.

the occasion of the poem and its urban setting. The vision of Messalinus entering the city in triumph indicates that Tibullus expects the Roman Empire to continue to expand and that he looks forward with pride to further pomp and circumstance in the city which he calls eternal. Elegy II.5, then, reveals that both the city and the countryside are involved in Tibullus' sense of national pride and in his hopes for the future of Rome.

At the beginning of Elegy II.6, Tibullus says that he is willing to go off to war leaving both city and countryside behind if only Amor will spare him. Then he reveals his dilemma:

magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto
 excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores.
 iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina nunquam!
 cum bene iuravi, pes tamen ipse redit (lines 11-14).

This, of course, is the urban theme of exclusus amator. It is developed a second time near the end of the poem. In line 47-48 Tibullus relates that often, standing at the threshold of his love's house, he recognizes her voice within; but the wicked lena denies that she is at home. He adds that he is sometimes denied access for other reasons. Tibullus and Nemesis, then, seem to be in the city. The fact that Nemesis' sister fell to her death from a high window also suggests that her family was living in the city rather than in the country.

Still, the countryside seems to be on Tibullus' mind. Among the examples that he gives of how Hope leads people

on are several rustic ones:

Spes alit agricolas, Spes sulcis credit aratis
 semina quae magno faenore reddat ager:
 haec laqueo volucres, haec captat arundine pisces,
 cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus (lines 21-24).

It is interesting to note that the statement about the seeds combines rural imagery with that of the lending business normally associated with the city.

In conclusion, Tibullus' poems, like those of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius, reveal an admiration for both Rome and the countryside. In Book I, Tibullus seems to be basically a city person with a strong attraction to country life, which he idealizes. In Book II, the balance of his feeling is reversed. As Elder observes, "In the tension which Tibullus felt between his ideal Golden Age countryside and the corrosive feature of Rome, it is the city now which is exerting the stronger pull."¹ Tibullus also shares with the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus a passive interest in nature, which is equally evident in both books of his elegies, and a sense of national pride, which is especially marked in Elegy II.5. Like them, he looks to the past as a model for the future.

The fact that Tibullus' outlook for the future is optimistic is in itself a mark of Augustanism, for it mirrors a change in historical viewpoint. Williams observes that in the works of the writers in the literary

¹Elder, "Tibullus: Tersus Atque Elegans," p. 92.

circle favored by Augustus, there is

a shift in point of view from seeing the present as the lowest point of decline to regarding it as the culmination of Rome's history, while the recent past was regarded as a disastrous, but temporary, fall from the glories of remote ages. Politically, this concept was given form by Augustus', declared Restoration of the Republic in 27 B.C.¹

¹Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 168.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE: AUGUSTUS

During the Augustan Age, one moral problem was especially evident. Copley defines it as "that of the conflict between the standards of conduct officially supported by society and those which the code of love declares to be right."¹ One of Augustus' aims was to preserve the traditional attitudes toward family life.² This involved a commitment to each other on the part of both the husband and the wife, a deep love and concern for their children, and a feeling of closeness with other relatives. In De Officiis, Cicero states, "prima societas in ipse coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia; id autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae (De Officiis I.17)." William Chase Greene has the following comment on the passage:

Such was the typical Roman view, neither sentimental nor on the other hand precluding the possibility of real sentiment, but dwelling chiefly on the union from

¹Copley, Exclusus Amator: A Study in Latin Love Poetry, p. 93.

²See Last, pp. 440-441 and 455.

which were to come new citizens, new toilers, new ¹ members of the family to carry on the family cult.

R. S. Conway observes that in the Augustan age marriage, in reality, was considered only a "nominally permanent" union, which could be ended for political expediency. He adds,

The ordinary, decent Roman citizen of Vergil's day would have told us that the ideal union between man and woman was one of affection on both sides, but that this was rare; and that though one might be sorry for any painful separation, it would be monstrous to think that a woman's claim on a man's affection could be weighed in the balance of his political duties.²

Augustus, himself, arranged marriages for political reasons.³

Moreover, he and the members of his family did not live up to the highest ideals of matrimony.⁴ Suetonius relates

that Augustus loved Livia, his third wife, to whom he was married throughout his reign, uniquely and perseveringly.⁵

He also states,

Adulteria quidem exercuisse, ne amici quidem

¹William Chase Greene, The Achievement of Rome: A Chapter in Civilization (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), p. 91. Greene translates the passage from Cicero as follows: "Marriage is the seed of society, which is developed in the possession of the children and which flowers in the unity and community of the home. This is the origin of the State, too: homes are the seed-bed of social life."

²R. S. Conway, New Studies of a Great Inheritance (London: John Murray, 1930), p. 157.

³Conway, pp. 155-156.

⁴See J. C. Stobart, The Grandeur That Was Rome, ed. by W. S. Maguinness and H. H. Scullard (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1961), pp. 203-205, for the matrimonial histories of Augustus, Livia, and Julia.

⁵Suetonius, Divus Augustus LXII.

negant, excusantes sane non libidine, sed ratione commissa, quo facilius consilia adversariorum per cuiusque mulieres exquireret (Divus Augustus LXIX).¹

Augustus attempted to give his daughter and granddaughters a good moral upbringing² but was forced to send the daughter and a granddaughter into exile for misconduct.³ Suetonius says that Augustus bore the deaths of relatives, of which there were many, with more equanimity than he bore their disgrace.⁴ About Augustus' devotion to his mother and sister, he states, "Utrique cum praecipua officia vivae praestitisset, etiam defunctae honores maximes tribuit (Divus Augustus LXI).⁵" Also, it should be noted that Augustus was proud to have avenged the death of his step-father, Julius Caesar.⁵

Augustus planned to discourage moral laxity and to encourage matrimony through legislation.⁶ At the beginning of his principate, he proposed some ordinances on

¹For a Roman man to commit adultery with a Roman matrona was considered immoral; but an affair with an unmarried woman of the freedman class as well as consorting to prostitutes, whether of high or low estate, tended to be overlooked. See, for example, Horace, Satires I.2.

²Suetonius, Divus Augustus LXIV.

³Suetonius, Divus Augustus LXV.

⁴Suetonius, Divus Augustus LXV.

⁵See Res Gestae II.

⁶That Augustus took his policy toward marriage seriously would be more clearly shown if one could prove that the Carmen resulting in Ovid's banishment was the Ars Amatoria, which undermined Augustus' encouragement of traditional attitudes toward marriage.

marriage but was forced by public pressure to postpone them.¹ The Lex Julia de Adulteriis Coercendis, which was in effect by 16 B.C.² made adultery in women a public offense with severe penalties, including the banishment of both guilty parties.³ Even though husbands could not be prosecuted for adultery by their wives, Last points out that "they were so far expected to set a good example that a man of loose life might find himself in jeopardy if his wife were arraigned on this charge."⁴ Men were also liable to punishment for stuprum.⁵ The Lex Julia de Maritandis Ordinibus of 18 B.C. and the Lex Papia Poppaea of A.D. 9 loosened class restrictions on marriage, changed the law of inheritance to favor parenthood, and granted privileges in public life to fathers of three or more children.⁶ In

¹See Last, p. 441; Cary, p. 489.

²See Percy Elwood Corbett, The Roman Law of Marriage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 133, and Last, p. 441.

³For a more detailed discussion of the Lex Julia de Adulteriis Coercendis, see Last, pp. 445-447; Cary, p. 489; Corbett, pp. 133-146; and Reinhold, pp. 47-49.

⁴Last, p. 447.

⁵Last, p. 447, states that stuprum was "an offense defined and extended by Augustus so as to include a large number of sexual acts subversive of the family which men might commit and to which the provisions against adulterium did not apply."

⁶For a more detailed discussion of the Lex Julia de Maritandis Ordinibus and the Lex Papia Poppaea, see Last, pp. 448-455; Corbett, pp. 118-121; Reinhold, pp. 49-53; Cary, pp. 489-490, Salmon, pp. 25-26; and Jones, pp. 132-133.

reference to the requirement that widows under fifty remarry, Sarah Pomeroy points out,

There was some tension between the emperor's concern that women bear as many children as possible and the traditional Roman idealization of women like Cornelia who remained faithful to her dead husband. The epitaphs continue to praise the women who died having known only one husband (univira), some of whom easily earned this recognition by dying young. The ideal of the univira and the eternal marriage was strictly Roman, and without counterpart in Greece. Two lengthly encomia of upper-class women of the Augustan period--one of 'Turia,' the other of Cornelia, wife of Lucius Aemilius Paullus--stress the ideal. In both cases, the women predeceased¹ their husbands, who composed or commissioned the encomia.

Young widows were evidently to put the duty to bring forth offspring to strengthen the Roman nation before their personal feelings. Outside of this, however, women were expected to be univira as Augustus' comments on married life (reported by Dio Cassius) seem to indicate:

πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄριστον γυνὴ σώφρων οἰκουρὸς οἰκονόμος παιδοτρόφος ὑγιαίνοντά τε εὐφραίνει καὶ ἀσθενοῦντα θεραπεύει, εὐτυχοῦντί τε συγγενέσθαι καὶ δυστυχοῦντα παραμυθῆσθαι, τοῦ τε νέου τὴν ἐμμανὴ φύσιν καθεῖρξαι καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τὴν ἔξωρον αὐστηρότητα κερᾶσαι; (Roman History LVI.3)

According to Suetonius, Augustus' final words were "Livia, nostri coniugii memor vive, ac vale (Divus Augustus XCIX)!"

The traditional attitudes toward the family are described and admired by the writers in the literary circle of Augustus. At the same time, there is evidence in their

¹Sarah B. Pomeroy, Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), p. 161.

works of failure to meet the high standards. In enumerating the benefits of Augustus' reign, Horace in one ode states,

nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas
laudantur simili prole puerperae
(Odes IV. 5, lines 21-23).

In another he relates that Augustus put a bridle on license¹ and made it possible for husband, wife, and children to pray and sing together.² In the Carmen Saeculare, he requests Ilithyia, the goddess of childbirth, to watch over mothers, to bring forth offspring, and to make successful the edicts regarding marriage and the marriage laws.³ A description of an ideal wife is found in Epode II, lines 39-60.

quod si pudica mulier in partem iuuet
domum atque dulces liberos,
Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
pernicis uxor Apuli,
sacrum vetustis extruat lignis focum
lassi sub adventum viri,
claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus
distenta siccet ubera,
et horna dulci vina promens dolio
dapes inemptas adparet;
non me Lucrina iuverint conchylia
magisve rhombus aut scari,
si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
hiems ad hoc vertat mare;
non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
non attagen Ionicus
iucundior quam lecta de pinguissimis

1

Horace, Odes IV.15, lines 9-11.

2

Horace, Odes IV.15, lines 25-32.

3

Horace, Carmen Saeculare, lines 13-20.

oliva ramis arborum
aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi
malvae salubres corpori
vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus
vel haedus ereptus lupo.¹

Despite all of this, the persona of Horace chooses to remain a bachelor. Moreover, he writes of frivolous romantic involvements with several women.²

Propertius writes of his complete devotion to one woman, Cynthia. Though she is a courtesan, he, at least in one elegy, says that she will serve as both his friend and wife:

nos uxor numquam, numquam seducet amica:

¹Eduard Fraenkel, Horace (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 60, feels that despite the ironic reversal at the end of this poem, "We may see in this poem a fundamentally true, if slightly idealizing, expression of Horace's own nostalgic longing for the life of the country-side...It is right to judge the epode from the impression which it makes upon us as a whole and not to allow the balance to be completely upset by what has been called 'the Heinesque surprise at the close.'"

²See, for example, Horace, Odes I.13, 19, and 23. The Greek names of the women (possibly pseudonyms or names of fictitious women), which indicate that they are of foreign extraction, save Horace from censure. Regarding Horace's support of Augustus' moral reforms, Gordon Williams, "Poetry in the Moral Climate of Augustan Rome," Journal of Roman Studies, LII (1962), p. 46, comments,

Horace may have been persuaded. If so, there is no sign that his own life, any more than Maecenas's, was affected by the conviction; but a capacity to be moved by high ideals is still an acceptable substitute for acting upon them. What is awkward is the internal contradiction in the odes. The censorious tone of the moralizing poems, which claim a high degree of realism, contrasts oddly with the laxity of the fantasy-poems.

semper amica mihi, semper et uxor eris (II.6, lines 1-42).

In the same poem, he singles out Alcestis and Penelope as model women.¹ Propertius never denigrates the traditional ideas about marriages.² On the contrary, one of his most famous poems, the last one in his collection, is a tribute to a deceased Roman matron, who exemplifies the ideal Roman wife and mother.³ Moreover, Elegy IV.3 concerns the love of a faithful wife for her husband, who is away on a military campaign and who she hopes is equally faithful to her.

Georg Luck points out,

Catullus and Propertius interpret the Roman code of ethics they have inherited in a personal and very liberal manner. Instead of throwing these values overboard, they re-evaluate them, and even though they may not consider a conventional marriage an ideal solution for themselves, they never reject or ridicule marriage as an institution.⁴

Williams observes that Vergil, in his portrait of Dido's earlier life, uses the same ideal of marriage as Propertius in Elegy IV.11. Commenting on Aeneid IV, lines 28-29,

¹Propertius, II.6, line 23.

²For Propertius' attitude toward marriage, see Saara Lilja, The Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1965), pp. 230-239.

³Propertius, IV.11.

⁴Georg Luck, "The Woman's Role in Latin Love Poetry," in Perspectives of Roman Poetry: A Classics Symposium, ed. by G. Karl Galinsky (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974), p. 23.

⁵Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 387.

and I, lines 343-346, he notes,

In these passages is expressed a purely Roman ideal of marriage; the bride is a virgin...the marriage is her first, the marriage-bond is eternal, and there can be no question of a second marriage after her husband's death.¹

He goes on to point out that the cause of much of Dido's distress after Aeneas leaves is her guilt at having married again.² He also notes that Vergil is careful to emphasize that Dido considers her relationship with Aeneas a marriage.³ The marriage of Aeneas and Creusa is also portrayed as conforming to the Roman ideal. Only when Creusa's ghost tells him that he, in accordance with the will of Jupiter, must forget his wife, does he desist from his frantic search for her. That Creusa is a devoted mother as well as wife is shown by her final words--"iamque vale et nati serva communis amorem." (Aeneid, line 789). Aeneas' love for his son is evident throughout the Aeneid, and his relationship with his father is depicted as a close one. When he becomes romantically involved with Dido, however, Aeneas neglects his familial and civic obligations.

Conway points out that in the fourth book of the Aeneid, the epithet pius is not applied to Aeneas until

¹Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 387.

²Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 384.

³Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 379.

line 393, where the hero is setting out for Italy though he wishes to comfort grieving Dido. Conway further notes that the epithet "is deliberately placed here to mark the hero's repentant return to himself, to his 'faithful' pursuit of duty."¹

The works produced in the literary circle favored by Augustus, therefore, show a conflict between the ideal moral code, which was reflected in the Julian laws, and that which the code of love demanded. Yet, all support the traditional attitudes toward marriage and family life.

¹Conway, p. 151.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE: TIBULLUS

C. R. Harte maintains,

The suitor of Delia and Nemesis is primarily a lover of quiet, and hence of that best refuge from the tumult of the world, home. The quality he prizes most is pietas, simple devotion to the gods of the hearth and to the memory and traditions of his race.¹

Tibullus, however, is also an elegaic poet engaged in an untraditional love affair. The manner in which the two aspects of his character are reconciled will become evident through a study of Tibullus' relationships with the members of his family and with his love(s).

Delia is introduced in the first elegy of Book I when Tibullus describes the rustic lifestyle which appeals to him. He says that a small field and a bed to which he is accustomed would be enough to make him content. Then he adds,

quam iuvat immites ventos audire cubantem
et dominam tenero continuisse sinu
aut, gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster,
securum somnos imbre iuvante sequi (lines 45-48)!

The use of the word domina is especially interesting. Since the context of the poem suggests that Tibullus is

¹C. R. Harte, "Tibullus, Lover of Nature," Classical Bulletin, XXVIII (1952), p. 67.

the head of a traditional Roman household, it seems to connote lady of the house and loving partner of the dominus rather than mistress of an enslaved lover. Albert R. Baca states, "The ordinary meaning of domina was that of a woman who domi mansit, lanam fecit, casta vixit, and was a domina servorum,"¹ Smith notes, "The term was always a compliment in classical times because the original associations of it were still kept alive."² Tibullus, then, seems to be imagining himself and Delia as the master and mistress of a small rustic household, which situation suggests that in Tibullus' imagination they are married. Beginning at line 55, Tibullus' actual and quite opposite situation is revealed. He is a young man in love with a girl from whose home he is being barred. Speaking metaphorically, Tibullus compares himself to Delia's ianitor. This image suggests that he is her slave rather than her

¹Albert R. Baca, "The Role of Delia and Nemesis in the Corpus Tibullianum," (Ph.D. dissertation at University of Southern California, 1965), p. 33. Baca, pp. 33-34, notes that domina is most often equivalent to era, or lady of the house. Citing the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, V, Part I (Leipzig, 1909), he states, "It was in the sense of era that domina was most commonly used in Latin, as can be illustrated by literary passages from the earliest records to the latest." He goes on to relate that in Catullus' poetry, the word took on the additional meaning of puella/amica but that Catullus also used the word domina in the sense of era alone.

²Smith, p. 197, note 46. Sir John Edwin Sandys, A Companion to Latin Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), p. 185, states that the Roman matrona's "position in the house was marked by the honourable title of domina with which she was addressed."

equal. It therefore implies that Delia is Tibullus' domina in the erotic sense of the word. In the next section of the poem, Tibullus expresses his desire to be with Delia for the rest of his life even though he may lack distinction and be called lazy. Drifting off into reverie, he visualizes their final parting:

te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
te teneam moriens deficiente manu.
flebis et arsuro positum me, Delia, lecto,
tristibus et lacrimis oscula mixta dabis
(lines 59-62).

Coming out of his daydream, Tibullus assures Delia that she will weep; for her heart is not girded with iron. Thoughts of his impending death remind Tibullus of the brevity of life; and he suggests, "interea, dum fata sinunt, iungamus amores (line 69)." Smith points out that the plural amores shows that Tibullus wishes the love to be reciprocal.¹ Tibullus seems to be speaking to Delia as his peer. In the following lines, he subtly changes his theme from the hoped-for steadfastness of their love to the joys of youthful love.

In Elegy I.2 Tibullus is once again on Delia's doorstep, this time attempting to make himself oblivious to his predicament by drinking. In the beginning of the poem, it is revealed that Delia has been locked in and placed under guard by the head of the household, for that is who the dominus of the door would be. Delia herself is addressed as a willing, though hesitant, partner in

¹Smith, p. 204, note 69.

Tibullus' love schemes. As such, Tibullus tells her, she is under the protection of Venus. Furthermore, he encourages her to elude her guards since Venus helps those who are daring for love. Lines 21-22,

illa viro coram nutus conferre loquaces
blandaue compositis abdere verba notis,

hint that Delia may be married, or, at least, involved with another man; but the rest of the discussion of secret lovers protected by Venus would apply equally well to an unattached girl with a strict father or guardian. It is almost half-way through the poem before Delia's coniunx is mentioned. Smith feels that the word coniunx is "a euphemism for the man who at that time happens to be furnishing the mistress of the elegaic lover with a house door;"¹ but Cartault observes,

les élégiaques, bien entendu, essaient souvent d'ennoblir des liaisons illégitimes en employant des termes conjugaux; mais il est rare que le mot conjux ne désigne pas chez eux au masculin un mari véritable, au féminin un épouse régulière.²

¹Smith, p. 45.

²Cartault, p. 33. Heyne, p. 27, note 41, and Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 66, note 44, also feel that the word coniunx in this passage connotes husband. The word coniunx appears in the masculine in Elegy I.2, line 43, and Elegy I.6, line 15 and line 33. In each of these places, the translation husband would be fitting. In Elegy I.4, line 47, coniunx is feminine and surely refers to Titius' wife. Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, pp. 537-538, relates that Ovid considered Delia a married woman of a social status similar to that of Tibullus (Tristia II, lines 457-466). Williams gives a special interpretation of the lines 67-68 of Elegy I.6 (See pp. 144-145 above). He concludes that Delia (who, he feels, exists only in Tibullus'

As a result of the delayed reference to Delia's husband in the poem, the power of love is emphasized while the adulterous nature of the affair is minimized. Moreover, in lines 65-66, Tibullus relates that Delia's husband, not at all the ideal Roman spouse, whose first concerns are his country and his family, left her to gain booty and personal military distinction.¹ Tibullus declares that he, in contrast, would be happy under the humblest conditions provided that he could be with Delia. This passage brings to mind the following statement of Tibullus in Elegy I.1:

o quantum est auri pereat potiusque smaragdi,
quam flect ob nostras ulla puella vias (lines 51-52).

The reference to the pastoral lifestyle in lines 71-74 of Elegy I.2 hints at an acceptance of traditional mores.²

imagination) is both married and of a social status similar to that of Tibullus. Because the coniunx is often used in elegaic poetry to connote lover rather than husband, it is impossible to determine precisely which meaning Tibullus had in mind. Delia's marital status has been much discussed. See, for example, O. Ribbeck, "Über die Deliaelegien bei Tibull," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, XXXII (1877), pp. 445-449, and Georg Goetz, "Zu den Deliaelegien des Tibull," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, XXXIII (1878), pp. 145-150, for some nineteenth century views.

¹Smith, p. 45, and Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 535, think that Delia's coniunx is still abroad when the incident described in the poem takes place. Heyne, p. 19, note 65,67, and Bright, Haec Mihi Fingebam: Tibullus in his World, p. 144, feel that lines 65-67 contain a general reference rather than a reference to any one individual. Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 70, note 67-68, theorizes that the reference may be to Tibullus himself.

²For a discussion of the association of the country with traditional mores, see Chapter III.

including those connected with marriage; for Tibullus seems to be picturing Delia and himself as a poor but loving rustic couple. The acceptance of traditional ideas is also suggested by Tibullus' piety, manifested in his concern that he might have offended a deity.

In Elegy I.3, Tibullus, having left Delia with great reluctance, has gone off to fight for his country and commander (not for booty). He lies gravely ill in Phaeacia, a place once visited by Odysseus. His first thoughts, somewhat unusual for an elegaic poet, are of his family:

abstineas, Mors atra, precor: non hic mihi mater
quae legat in maestos ossa perusta sinus,
non soror, Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores
et fleat effusis ante sepulcra comis (lines 5-8).

Then his thoughts turn to his love. In this elegy, Delia is portrayed as completely devoted to Tibullus. She even consulted all of the gods to see if he would be safe on his journey. As in Elegy I.1, there is no mention of her marriage. The only suggestions of a possible future interest in someone other than Tibullus comes in his prayer:

at tu casta precor maneat, sanctique pudoris
adsideat custos sedula semper anus (lines 83-84).

Tibullus' visualization of his homecoming follows this couplet:

haec tibi fabellas referat positaque lucerna
deducat plena stamina longa colo.
at circa gravibus pensis adfixa puella
paulatim somno fessa remittat opus.
tunc veniam subito, nec quisquam nuntiet ante,
sed videar caelo missus adesse tibi.
tunc mihi, qualis eris, longos turbata capillos,
obvia nudate, Delia, curre pede (lines 85-92).

The picture of a chaste, faithful wife spinning and weaving to keep busy while her husband is away had a long tradition in Greek and Roman literature. One of the earliest instances is in the Odyssey, where Penelope tricks her suitors by working on a funeral shroud for her father-in-law, Laertes. Bright, who maintains that Tibullus is comparing himself to Odysseus throughout Elegy I.3, writes of the homecoming scene:

Tibullus will arrive like Odysseus, unexpected and unannounced. He will indeed seem to be sent from heaven. This is a key line, tying together the Odyssean and Tibullan dimensions. Odysseus, assumed dead, was virtually returned from the other world to Penelope; Tibullus, who has just imagined in detail his own death, will almost literally return from the dead. Delia, however, will surpass even Penelope; she will run to him at once in recognition and all his trouble will be over.¹

Several scholars² have noted the similarity between Tibullus' description of Delia awaiting his return and a scene in the Heauton Timorumenos of Terence, in which a slave relates how he and another slave discovered that the woman whom his master plans to marry had remained faithful to him during his absence. Having gone to her home without advance notice,

1

Bright, "A Tibullan Odyssey," p. 204.

2

See Day, p. 89, who cites F. Leo, Der Monologue in Drama (Gottingen, 1908), p. 129, and Th. Gollnisch, Quaestiones Elegiacae, dissertation (Breslau, 1905), p. 23. Day feels that Tibullus must have been familiar with and modelled his vignette after the scene in the original play of Menander on which Terence's comedy was based. See also Smith, p. 260, note 83-92, and Postgate, Selections..., p. 81, note 83.

they had found her very plainly dressed and busy at her loom; on hearing her lover's name, she had dropped her thread and had broken into tears.¹ William T. Avery and others feel that Tibullus' vignette bears a close resemblance to Livy's description of Lucretia's activities while her husband was away:²

Quo cum primis se intendentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantem ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt (Ab Urbe Condita I.57).

¹ Lines 274-290 and 304-307 of the Heauton Timorumenos of Terence (Syrus, a slave is speaking in each passage):

...iam primum omnium,
ubi ventum ad aedis est, Dromo pultat fores;
anus quaedam prodit; haec ubi aperit ostium,
continuo hic se intro conicit, ego consequor;
anus foribus obdit pessulum, ad lanam redit.
hic sciri potuit aut nusquam alibi Clinia,
quo studio vitam suam te absente exegerit,
ubi de improvisost interventum mulieri.
nam ea res dedit tum existumandi copiam
cottidianae vitae consuetudinem,
quae quousque ingenium ut sit declarat maxume:
texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri
--eius anuis causa opinor quae erat mortua--,
sine auro; tum ornatam ita uti quae ornantur sibi,
nulla mala re interpolatam muliebri;
capillus passus prolixo et circum caput
relectus negligenter; pax.

.....
ubi dicimus redisse te et rogare uti
veniret ad te, mulier telam desinit
continuo et lacrimis opplet os totum sibi,
ut facile scias desiderio id fieri tuo.

² William T. Avery, "Tibullus 1.3.85: Positaque Lucerna," Classical Journal, XLIX (1953/1954), p. 165. For a discussion of spinning as an occupation indicative of chastity, see footnote 5, p. 166, of this article.

Avery argues that the words positaque lucerna suggest that Delia and her entourage worked late into the night as Lucretia and her maids did.¹ However many of the comparisons one accepts, each one seems to indicate that Tibullus is thinking of Delia in terms of a traditional chaste and faithful wife or bride-to-be.²

Even in Elegy I.4, there is an implied reference to the traditional idea of faithfulness to one's spouse:

haec mihi, quae canerem Titio, deus edidit ore;
sed Titium coniunx haec meminisse vetat (lines 73-74).

As a result, it is subtly suggested that activities such as those advocated in the poem do not pertain to married individuals.

Just as lines 9-14 of Elegy I.3 make known Delia's concern for Tibullus, so lines 9-16 of Elegy I.5 stress Tibullus' concern for Delia. Tibullus relates that he is credited with having saved Delia's life when she was suffering from a serious disease. He then describes how he purified her with sulfur after an old lady had recited a magic chant; how with sacred meal he prevented bad dreams from harming her; and how, veiled with a fillet and wearing

1

Avery, "Tibullus 1.3.85: Positaque Lucerna," p. 165. Smith, p. 261, note 85, thinks that the words refer to the season of the year, autumn.

2

C. Campbell, "Tibullus: Elegy I.3," Yale Classical Studies, XXIII (1973), pp. 155-156, who theorizes that Tibullus thinks that he will not return alive but rather as a shade or dream, interprets the end of the poem as an indication that Tibullus will go on loving Delia forever.

loosened garments, he offered prayers to Trivia at night. Tibullus had hoped, as the next section of the elegy shows, that Delia would eventually become the domina of his estate:

rura colam, frugumque aderit mea Delia custos,
 area dum messes sole calente teret,
 aut mihi servabit plenis in lintribus uvas
 pressaque veloci candida musta pede.
 consuescet numerare pecus, consuescet amantis
 garrulus in dominae ludere verna sinu.
 illa deo sciet agricolae pro vitibus uvam,
 pro segete spicas, pro grege ferre dapem.
 illa regat cunctos, illi sint omnia curae:
 at iuvet in tota me nihil esse domo.
 huc veniet Messalla meus, cui dulcia poma
 Delia selectis detrahat arboribus;
 et tantum venerata virum, hunc sedula curet.
 huic paret atque epulas ipsa ministra gerat
 (lines 21-34).

Scholars feel that the picture of Delia in this passage is a traditional one. Erich Burck comments,

Tibull malt das Traumbild seiner glücklichen Vereinigung mit Delia in der gemeinsamen Durchführung ländlicher Arbeiten und in der vertrauensvollen Zuneigung der Haussklaven zu ihrer domina aus.¹

Lilja points out that Tibullus imagines Delia as his wife.²

Smith notes, "Delia, a city-bred girl, is expected to play the part of a frugal and prudent housewife of the old Italian pattern far from the madding crowd."³ Musurillo⁴ maintains that Delia, as described here, may be compared with the

¹Erich Burch, "Romische Wesenszüge des Augusteischen Liebeselegie," Hermes LXXX (1952), p. 170.

²Lilja, p. 229.

³Smith, p. 295, note 21.

⁴Musurillo, "Furtivus Amor: The Structure of Tibullus 1.5" p. 390.

classic vilica described by Cato the Elder¹ and with the matron honored in the Laudatio Turiae. He makes another important point--Delia is portrayed not simply as a domina, a matron of a household, but as an "amans domina."² This is shown by the facts that she encourages the slave children to play in her lap and that she treats Messalla most cordially. Tibullus' use of the pronominal adjective mea to describe Delia suggests that he considers her his equal rather than his superior.³ The use of mihi in line 23 (line 3 above) seems to indicate that Delia is willing to do a share of the tasks for Tibullus' sake. Her knowledge of the correct sacrificial offerings hints that she accepts traditional religious beliefs. Copley describes Tibullus and Delia, as presented in this passage, as a younger Baucis and Philemon, an ideal rustic married couple.⁴ Regarding Tibullus' wish to be nothing on his estate, Putnam states that nihil esse (the opposite of aliquid esse) means "to be of no use or value."⁵ Therefore, the phrase seems to imply

¹Cato the Elder, De Agri Cultura CXLIII.

²Musurillo, "Furtivus Amor: The Structure of Tibullus 1.5," p. 390.

³Tibullus uses mea to describe Delia in two other places, Elegy I.1, line 57, and Elegy I.6, line 55. In each case, he is speaking directly to Delia and addressing her as his equal.

⁴Copley, Exclusus Amator: A Study in Latin Love Poetry, p. 109.

⁵Putnam, Tibullus, A Commentary, p. 103, note 29-30.

a voluntary surrender of unwanted power rather than a wish for complete servitude. On lines 29-30 (lines 9-10 above), Lilja comments, "By the use of the subjunctive [instead of the future indicative employed throughout the rest of the passage] Tibullus undoubtedly wants to give an enhanced personal tone to the idea of total self-abnegation."¹

The vignette in the center of the elegy contrasts sharply with its beginning, where Tibullus seems to view himself as a slave rather than an equal of his domina:

ure ferum et torque, libeat ne dicere quicquam
magnificum post haec: horrida verba doma (lines 5-6).²

That Tibullus is in a servile position is also implied in the girl's accusation that Delia has bewitched him. On the contrary, in the last third of the elegy, Tibullus states that Delia is under the influence of a lena, who is also plotting his ruin. Implying that Delia is totally innocent, Tibullus addresses her as a peer, advising her to desert the lena and choose a poor man for a lover. Furthermore, his warning to the dives amator,

at tu qui potior nunc es, mea fata timeto:
versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotae,

betrays more confidence and daring (especially if it is

¹Lilja, p. 229.

²Copley, Exclusus Amator: A Study in Latin Love Poetry, p. 108, notes that it is not clear whether these lines are addressed to Delia's door or to Delia. Since the next couplet, which is parallel in construction, is addressed to Delia, it seems more likely that lines 5-6 are also addressed to her.

he who stands before Delia's door¹) than an abject slave would have.

A blending of traditional attitudes toward marriage and the elegaic lifestyle is especially evident in Elegy I.6. In this poem, Tibullus appears both as a master and teacher of deceit and a master and teacher of faithfulness. After relating that the god Amor seems to always treat him cruelly, Tibullus complains that Delia is now deceiving him as well as her husband. Moreover, she is using the very tricks which he taught her. This passage brings to mind Elegy I.2, in which Tibullus encourages Delia to elude the guards posted by her husband.² In Elegies I.2 and I.6, Delia's husband is portrayed as unfitting for her. Tibullus, on the other hand, claims that the union of himself and Delia is sanctioned and protected by the gods. In Elegy I.2, Delia's husband is faulted for leaving her in order to pursue booty.³ In Elegy I.6, he is sketched as somewhat dull. Tibullus' question, "quid tenera tibi coniuge opus (line 33)?" implies that he might be better off without a wife. In contrast, Tibullus feels that Amor has ordained his

¹For a discussion of the possible identity of the man before Delia's door, see Musurillo, "Furtivus Amor: the Structure of Tibullus 1.5," p. 396. Copley, Exclusus Amator: A Study in Latin Love Poetry, p. 111, theorizes that he is Tibullus.

²See Elegy I.2, lines 15-25.

³Elegy I.2, lines 65-67.

relationship with Delia. In confessing his past misdeeds against Delia's husband, Tibullus states,

non ego te laesi prudens: ignosce fatenti;
iussit Amor: contra quis ferat arma deos (lines
29-30).

In warding off possible suitors, he relays the advice of Bellona's priestess:

parcite quam custodit Amor violare puellam,
ne pigeat magno post didicisse malo (lines 51-52).

He adds that Delia herself will receive some punishment if she continues to admit lovers other than himself. Tibullus has the approval of Delia's mother, whom he likes so much that he wishes that he could prolong her lifetime by giving her some of his allotted time. It is she who convinces him to forgive Delia for her indiscretion. It was she who brought Tibullus and Delia together and often waited to let him into the house. This passage is a very unusual one in Roman literature, for the mother seems to be playing a role normally assigned to the lena.¹ Putnam points out that the specific connotation of the word adducit (line 59) "is the procuring of a courtesan."² In the next line, however, he

¹Juvenal employs this theme in Satire VI.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, notes 59-60. For alternate readings for line 59, see Lenz, p. 72. Broukhusius, p. 136, prefers the reading, "Haec me deducit tenebris." He comments (note 65), "est sane lepor suus in hac dilogia. nam ut deducere aliquem comitatis est atque honoris: ita & deducendi verbum pertinet nonnumquam ad conciliaturam." This reading, then, would suggest a wedding.

sees a reference to a type of traditional marriage ceremony in which manus played an important part.¹ Though the word mater is often applied to the lena in Roman literature, that is not the case here. Lilja comments, "That mater in I,6,57 means Delia's mother, instead of being a euphemism for the lena, is unquestionable, because Tibullus says to her of Delia sanguis est tamen illa tuus (66)."² Smith, following Cyllenius, notes that Delia's mother must have known Tibullus well if she recognized his footsteps.³ That she had a close relationship with her daughter and could influence her is implied in Tibullus' request that she instill faithfulness in her daughter:

sit modo casta, doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos
impediat crines nec stola longa pedes (lines 67-68).

In regard to this couplet and its significance, Williams writes,

The reference here is to the characteristic hair-style and robe of the Roman matron: the meaning is always taken to be that Delia is not married. If she is not married, the argument goes, the coniunx is a lover and she is a meretrix. But this makes nonsense of the poem. Tibullus had asked the coniunx to make him Delia's guardian, and for the rest of the poem he acts in that capacity. Since there is no question of her being married to Tibullus, the phrase 'although she is not married' is taken to refer to her relationship with the coniunx; but, if so, what does the command, 'teach her to be chaste' mean? Does it mean 'confine herself to the coniunx and me'? Scarcely. But if--as

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 111, note 59-60.

²Lilja, p. 229.

³Smith, p. 319, note 62.

is, in fact, the case--Tibullus is thinking only of Delia's relationship with himself (55 ff.), then the phrase means "Although her relationship to me is not one of marriage," and the command 'teach her to be chaste' means 'teach her to behave as if she were married to me.' If so, the marriage symbols form a metaphor which Tibullus uses thinking only of himself, and not of the coniunx who featured earlier in the poem. In this case the phrase has no legal bearing whatever on the social status of Delia and there is no impediment to regarding her coniunx as her husband to whom she is legally married. This is the right setting for i.6 in any case, for, as with Propertius ii.23, the dramatic situation requires a male who has actual rights over Delia and can say 'Yes or 'No'; such rights come from marriage.¹

Tibullus, then, seems to be thinking of Delia as his future wife as he did in Elegy I.3 and Elegy I.5. The rest of the poem is devoted to the need for fides such as was found in the traditional Roman marriage. Tibullus sets high standards for himself. He will not even be allowed to praise another woman without Delia putting out his eyes. He will, without deserving them, endure hard punishments if Delia merely thinks that he has strayed. For her part, Tibullus requests Delia to remain chaste as a result of a "mente fideli (line 75)" rather than out of fear. Indicating her feelings as well as his own by the word mutuus, he adds, "mutuus absenti te mihi servet amor (line 76)." Then he warns Delia that she who is faithful to none is forced in old age to earn her livelihood by spinning on a rented loom (a condition, which, according to Smith, is an in-

¹Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 536.

dication of both poverty and enforced chastity¹) and to endure the laughter of youths who feel that she has deserved her fate. Tibullus ends the poem with a wish which could apply equally well to the traditional Roman bride and bridegroom:

...nos, Delia amoris
exemplum cana simus uterque coma (lines 85-86).²

Tibullus' birthday wish for Messalla in Elegy I.7,

at tibi succrescat proles quae facta parentis
augeat et circa stet veneranda senem (lines 55-56),

indicates approval of the continuation of the closely knit family as the basic unit of society. In addition, as Lilja observes, "This passage conforms to the traditionally established official view, strongly defended by Augustus, that the object of marriage was to produce good citizens."³

In Elegy I.8, Tibullus is acting as volunteer match-maker for Marathus and his reluctant lover, Pholoe. In addressing the girl, Tibullus seems to be stressing the

¹ Smith, p. 322, note 77-84.

² In Elegy I.6, there is only one possible instance of the figure of servitium amoris:

At mihi servandam credas: non saeva recuso
Verbera, detrecto non ego vincla pedum (lines 37-38).

As Gaisser states in "Structure and Tone in Tibullus I.6," p. 207, these lines may instead be interpreted as a reference to Tibullus' willingness to use chains and whips to subdue Delia or his willingness to endure them in order to protect her.

³ Lilja, p. 227.

need for some kind of lasting union as security for old age:

non lapis hanc gemmaeque iuvant quae frigore sola
dormiat et nulli sit cupienda viro (lines 39-40).

Smith explains that suffering from the cold while asleep was considered "the traditional punishment of the old coquette."¹ The point of the whole poem is that deceptive manipulation on the part of either party in a serious love affair is unwarranted and punishable. Except for the reference to Marathus' former "miseros amantes (lines 71)" this elegy could be interpreted as an encouragement of marriage.

Elegy I.9 presents an insight into what unhappy family life is like. An ill-matched young wife, repelled by her lecherous, old, disease-ridden husband, seeks male companionship outside of marriage. She takes lessons in frivolity from her lascivious, drink-loving sister-in-law.² Smith comments that the reference to strong drink places the man's sister "in the class with the lenae, sagae, and meretrices, and at the same time suggests that she is no longer young."³ The fact that Tibullus does not approve

¹Smith, p. 351, note 39. He cites Horace, Odes I.25 and IV.13, as other examples of the same theme.

²Heyne, p. 85, note 60, who prefers the interpretation, "his sister," and Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 143, note 59-60, who prefers the interpretation, "her sister," point out that soror in line 59 may be translated "his or her sister." Smith, p. 371, note 59, and M. J. McGann, "A Humanist Conjecture in Tibullus I.9.61," Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, CXIV (1971), pp. 89-90, take it to mean the man's sister.

³Smith, p. 371, note 59.

of such a family situation is demonstrated by the fact that he wishes it for his worst enemy. Although Elegy I.9 concerns a broken love relationship between two men, the theme of the poem is faithfulness in love of any kind.

In contrast to the preceding poem, Elegy I.10 contains three sketches of happy family life. In one (lines 23-24), a man and his small daughter make humble thanksgiving for a prayer fulfilled. In another (lines 51-52), characteristic of the kind of life peace makes possible, a rustic family travelling in a wagon, returns from a religious festival in a grove. In the third, Tibullus' ideal lifestyle is described:

quam potius laudandus hic est quem prole parata
occupat in parva pigra senecta casa!
ipse suas sectatur oves, at filius agnos,
et calidam fesso comparat uxor aquam (lines 39-42).

Lilja observes, "If the very next words sic ego sim are to be understood literally, Tibullus hopes to get married."¹ The description of stormy, unsettled love in lines 51-66 serves as a foil to the scenes of domestic tranquility.

Even though in Elegies, I, III, V, and VI, Tibullus is writing of a love affair that is in conflict with the moral code of the society in which he lives, he writes of it in such a way as to make it seem almost acceptable. He de-emphasizes its improper aspects. Delia's husband is mentioned in only two poems and there is shown as unworthy

¹Lilja, p. 228.

of her. On the other hand, Tibullus stresses that his relationship with Delia is sanctioned by the gods and has the approval of Delia's mother. When he dreams of the future, he pictures Delia as the ideal wife. Luck observes,

The longing for the girl one would like to marry, as we know it from English and German romantic poetry, is almost totally unknown to the poets of the Augustan Age. Tibullus is, perhaps, an exception. As Sellar has observed long ago, he may be called the most romantic, the most sentimental of the elegaic poets, and his dreams of a simple life in the country with the girl he loves comes, perhaps, close to the ideal of a marriage based on mutual love and respect.¹

In regard to his position as suitor, Tibullus makes clear his love for Delia and his faithfulness to her. He blames Delia's indiscretions on the lena in Elegy I.5 and in Elegy I.6 on the lack of proper supervision and on lessons in deception which he regrets having given. Even in Tibullus' three paederastic poems, traditional heterosexual marriages are alluded to without disapproval; and the need for faithfulness in all love is emphasized. In Elegy I.4, Titius rejects, at the bidding of his wife, suggestions for winning the love of young boys. It is implied he then devotes all of his attention to her. In Elegy I.8, Tibullus advises a haughty young woman to accept the love of Marathus, who, in turn, is suffering the consequences of his own haughtiness in love. Tibullus' comments on being an old maid lacking male companionship suggest that he is advocating a lasting

¹Luck "The Woman's Role in Latin Love Poetry," p. 30.

love relationship--perhaps involving marriage. In Elegy I.9, Tibullus wishes a bad marriage for a man who has corrupted a youth dear to him. Tibullus makes no attempt to proselytize for his own lifestyle, although, in Elegy I.4, he does picture himself as a consultant to spurned lovers. On the contrary, scenes of domestic felicity are interwoven throughout his elegies. As a result, Tibullus seems less in conflict with the standards of Augustan society with regard to marriage and the family than he actually is.

The continuity and stability of rustic family life are alluded to in the opening couplet of Elegy II.1, for Tibullus relates that he is purifying his grain and fields in the manner prescribed by his ancestors. When he thinks about what life will be like if the gods grant agricultural prosperity, he visualizes a cozy domestic scene:

tunc nitidus plenis confisus rusticus agris,
ingeret ardenti grandia ligna foco,
turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni,
ludet et ex virgis exstruet ante casas (lines 21-24).¹

The description of the vernae at play brings to mind Tibullus' reverie in Elegy I.5, in which the slave children play on the lap of their loving domina.² It also recalls his description in Elegy I.10 of himself as a child at play

¹See Chapter III, p. 94, especially footnote 3.

²Cf. Elegy I.5, lines 25-26; "...consuescet amantis/garrulus in dominae ludere verna sinu." The use of both verna and ludere in this couplet lends support to the theory that the vernae mentioned in Elegy II.1 are children rather than adult slaves.

before the ancestral Lares.¹ Reference is again made to the continuity of traditional family life when Messalla is called "magna intonsis gloria victor avis (lines 34)." Putnam remarks, "Messalla's prowess guarantees him a fitting place in a rite a prisco traditus avo."² Here Tibullus is looking back rather than forward as he did in Elegy I.7, where, as Dunlop points out, Messalla is sketched as "an honored paterfamilias."³ A touch of domesticity and in Smith's words, "of quaint tenderness"⁴ is given to the imagery at the end of the poem when Tibullus describes the stars as the children of Night following the chariot of their mother:

...iam Nox iungit equos, currumque sequuntur
matris lascivo sidera fulva choro (lines 87-88).

Regarding his own romantic situation, Tibullus says nothing specific in this elegy. He does, however, hint that he is in love when, in speaking of Cupid, he says,

ei mihi quam doctas nunc habet ille manus (lines 70).

In Elegy II.2, Tibullus wishes that the gods would grant an ideal marriage to his friend Cornutus, who is celebrating his birthday:

vota cadunt; utinam strepitantibus advolet alis

¹Elegy I.10, lines 15-16.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 153, note 33-34.

³Dunlop, p. 43. See also p. 146 above.

⁴Smith, p. 140, note 87-88.

flavaque coniugio vincula portet Amor.
 vincula quae maneant semper dum tarda senectus
 inducat rugas inficiatque comas.
 hic veniat Natalis avis prolemque ministret,
 ludat et ante tuos turba novella pedes (lines 17-22).¹

It is interesting to note that Tibullus speaks of the vincula Amoris as completely desirable only in this passage.² Moreover, he adds the adjective flava, to which he gives emphasis by placing it first on the line. Heyne³ and Smith⁴ explain that flava, yellow, was the color of weddings and symbolized happiness. Pointing out that Tibullus' four other uses of flava concern hair, Putnam suggests that flava is "perhaps the color of festivity, perhaps a token of youth, the time before hair needs to be dyed."⁵ Lines 18 and 19 recall the ending of Elegy I.6, in which Tibullus hopes that he and Delia will still be an example of love when their hair has turned white. The last couplet brings

¹There are textual problems in line 17. Broukhusius, p. 232, and Heyne, p. 109, read Viden' ut rather than utinam. Postgate, *Selections...*, p. 27, has viden ut. Broukhusius and Heyne read trepidantibus, while Postgate has strepitantibus. See also Lenz, p. 97.

²Cf. Elegy I.1 line 55; Elegy I.2, line 92; Elegy I.6, line 38; Elegy II.3, line 19; and Elegy II.4, line 4. In all of the preceding lines, the word vincula is associated with the image of servitium amoris, to which there is no reference in Elegy II.2.

³Heyne, p. 109, note 18.

⁴Smith, pp. 413-414, note 18.

⁵Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 165, note 18. The other instances of flava cited are Elegy I.1, line 15; Elegy I.5, line 44; Elegy I.7, line 12; and Elegy II.1, line 48.

to mind Tibullus' birthday wish for Messalla in Elegy I.7, namely, that he will have worthy grandchildren.¹ It also indicates an interest in children,² which is unusual for an elegist but in harmony with Augustan policy.³ The mention of grandparents as well as children, especially since the words avis and prolemque are juxtaposed, stresses the continuity of family life. In the first half of the poem, Tibullus urges Cornutus to make a request of his Genius; for it is sure to be fulfilled. Playing the augur, he predicts that Cornutus will ask for "uxoris fidos amores (line 11)," a request which he made so often in the past that the gods must, according to Tibullus, know it by heart. Ambiguity in the Latin makes it impossible to determine whether or not Cornutus is married. Smith⁴ and Postgate⁵ believe that Cornutus is already married. Lilja agrees and attempts to explain away the problem as follows:

Eddicisse (12) shows that the prayer of Cornutus to the gods has been constantly the same. To us a lack of trust is discourteous but the ancients were less sensitive in that respect.⁶

1

Elegy I.7, lines 55-56.

2

Other passages concerning children include Elegy I.5, lines 25-26; Elegy I.10, lines 16, 24, and 52; Elegy II.1, lines 23-24; and Elegy II.5, lines 91-94.

3

See p. 123 above.

4

Smith, p. 411.

5

Postgate, Selections..., p. 111.

6

Lilja, p. 226.

Heyne thinks that Tibullus is referring to a puella desponsa.¹ The reading which Heyne accepts for line 17, Viden' ut rather than utinam, lends support to the theory that the girl is either married or engaged. The word, utinam, on the other hand, which, when followed by a verb in the present subjective, introduces a wish for the future,² does not necessarily suggest a wedding in the offing. Putnam seems to maintain that Cornutus is simply praying for a perfect marriage. He say "a good future wife would presumably take as a compliment lines 11-12."³ Tibullus next relates that Cornutus would prefer a faithful wife to all of the arable land in the world and to whatever jewels the Indians possess. In short, Tibullus does not indicate any of his personal feelings about marriage in Elegy II.2; but he also does not show any signs of disapproval of traditional ideas.

In the opening lines of Elegy II.3, Tibullus reveals that his girl is in the country. Since mea was used in Book I to describe Delia on those occasions when Tibullus seems to be thinking of her as someone with whom he had

¹Heyne, p. 107. Heyne accepts the reading Cerinthe rather than Cornute in line 9.

²Raphael Kühner and Carl Stegmann, Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache, durchgesehen von Andreas Thierfelder (Leverkusen: Gottschalksche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1955), p. 182.

³Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 165, lines 11-12.

a close relationship,¹ the use of it in Elegy II.3 to modify puella, suggests the same situation. Tibullus next imagines himself in the country with his love. As in Elegy I.5, he pictures his girl as the domina of a country estate. He says that if he could only see his domina, he would be willing to hoe and plow and to suffer from sunburn and blistered hands. This could be interpreted to mean that Tibullus is willing to endure agricultural hardships as a dominus to be with his girl in the country as in Elegy I.2² or that he is her slave. The exemplum of Apollo serving Admetus which follows makes clear what Tibullus has in mind as does the final couplet of the poem:

ducite: ad imperium dominae sulcabimus agros;
non ego me vinclis verberibusque nego (lines 79-80).

Thus, in this elegy for the first time Tibullus imagines his girl actually making demands on him. Contrary to the expectations given by the opening of this poem, the girl seems very remote from Tibullus. Furthermore, there is no indication of any feeling for Tibullus on her part. Nevertheless, Tibullus is even willing to become involved with booty, as he puts it,

ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat utque per urbem
incedat donis conspicienda meis (lines 60-61).

¹Cf. Elegy I.1, line 57, Elegy I.2, line 73; Elegy I.3, line 29; Elegy I.5, line 21 and possibly line 42 (if Delia is understood).

²Elegy I.2, lines 71-74.

Another surprise, of course, is the girl's name, Nemesis. Tibullus does not indicate whether this is a pseudonym for Delia or the name of a different girl. No indication of Nemesis' marital status is presented.

In the exemplum of Apollo in Elegy II.3, the feeling of concern of Roman family members for one another is transferred to the deities. Diana blushes to see her brother clumsily struggling along with a lamb in his arms. Latona grieves over her son's unkempt hair. Both goddesses, then, are affected by Apollo's state of degradation, of which they obviously disapprove.

Elegy II.4 seems to be a sequel to the preceding poem. An exclusus amator, Tibullus is still in a position of complete servitude to Nemesis, who is now psychologically torturing him. She continually demands material gifts. His poems are of no avail. Words of wisdom have no effect. Instead, "illius est nobis lege colendus amor (line 52)." Tibullus volunteers to drink any brew in order to persuade Nemesis to look at him with a pleased expression. Though he says that he would even comply with a request to sell his estate, the wording of the clause, "quin etiam sedes iubeat si vendere avitas (line 53)," hints that Tibullus has some feeling of attachment to his family and its possessions. The theme of everlasting love, which was so prominent in Book I, appears in this elegy with a new twist. Here it involves only the man and is earned by his girl's good

actions and lack of greed:

at bona quae nec avara fuit, centum licet annos
vixerit, ardentem flebitur ante rogam (lines 45-46).

Nemesis makes only a brief appearance in Elegy II.5. She is presented as the source of Tibullus' heartache and his inspiration. Claiming divine protection as a poet, especially a vates sacer, Tibullus warns Nemesis to spare him so that he may sing of the future achievements of Messalinus. In contrast to the preceding elegies of Book II, Tibullus here finds the courage not only to address Nemesis as a peer but also to threaten her.¹

Tibullus says that he plans to sing of Messalinus

...cum praemia belli
ante suos currus oppida victa feret,
ipse gerens lauros, lauro devinctus agresti
miles 'io' magna voce 'trumphe' canet.
tunc Messalla meus pia det spectacula turbae
et plaudat curru praetereunte pater (lines 115-120).

What Tibullus wishes to celebrate with song is really the fulfillment of his birthday wish for Messalla in Elegy I.7, lines 55-56, namely, that he would have offspring who would follow in his footsteps and add to his honor. Lines 115-116 of Elegy II.5 (lines 1-4 above) recall Tibullus' description of Messalla's triumph,² while the next couplet

1

Cf. Elegy II.4, lines 39-50, where Tibullus' remarks, though especially meant for Nemesis, are addressed to a wider audience. In line 6 of the same elegy--"uror, io, remove, saeva puella, faces"--Tibullus addresses Nemesis directly, but he speaks as a slave under torture.

2

Elegy I.7, lines 5-8.

portrays him as a proud father both adding to and sharing in Messalinus' glory.¹ Heyne notes that pia is used to describe spectacula "quia amorem in filium testatur."² In his visualization of the rustic feast of the Palilia following upon the receipt of a good omen, Tibullus also emphasizes the love of family members for one another:

et fetus matrona dabit, natusque parenti
 oscula comprehensis auribus eripiet,
 nec taedebit avum parvo advigilare nepoti
 balbaque cum puero dicere verba senem (lines 91-94).

Gotoff comments that this passage portrays "with appreciation the continuity of rustic life, where generations of the same family dwell together."³ It also makes large families (then being officially encouraged by the government) seem

¹Bright, Haec Mihi Fingebam: Tibullus in his World, p. 89, sees in Elegy II.5 an allusion to Augustus in the references to sons (Ascanius and Messalinus) continuing and augmenting the work of their fathers;

as Ascanius for Aeneas, so Augustus restored what Caesar had lost. The parallel is unspoken, but would hardly have failed to come to mind after the description of the omens at Caesar's death. It should not be assumed that Tibullus is slighting Augustus by not mentioning him here. The focus of the poem, after all, is Messalinus and Messalla, and the poet has chosen to illustrate the lessons of history by these two figures. An explicit use of Augustus would overshadow them and diminish the lustre of the family being honored. Vergil showed the working of providence in the Augustan context, but Tibullus the elegist restricts himself to the Messallan family. It is no disrespect to the princeps to show that the qualities he fostered are to be found reflected as well in the leading families of his empire.

²Heyne, p. 239, note 119.

³Gotoff, p. 236.

desirable. In presenting his outline of Roman history, Tibullus gives a cursory history of the Julian line. Ross points out that he mentions Aeneas, Ascanius, Ilia, Mars, and Romulus and that he alludes to Julius Caesar through the reference to "the cometen, the sidus Iulii, which appeared in the summer of 43 B.C."¹ Furthermore, he feels that the line, "haec fuerant olim: sed tu iam mitis, Apollo (line 79)," with its "emphatic temporal adverbs olim/sed iam" suggests Augustus' victory at Actium, especially since the "Actian Apollo is made prominent by the occasion of the poem."² As a result, the importance of the family, in general, and the Julian family, in particular, as a part of Roman history is stressed. Moreover, in speaking of the origin of Rome, Tibullus presents a picture of filial piety; for he refers to Aeneas carrying his father and the ancestral Lares away from burning Troy. The past, then, serves as a model for the present and the future. In regard to the one instance of family strife to which Tibullus alludes in the line, "moenia, consorti non habitanda Remo (lines 24)," Ross comments,

The strife of Romulus and Remus, culminating in fratricide, had become for the Augustans a sort of curse on the house of Atreus, an embarrassing original explanation of later civil war [also alluded to Elegy II.5].³

¹Ross, p. 157.

²Ross, p. 157.

³Ross, p. 155.

Family strife, therefore, is shown to have a deleterious effect on the state. A mythological example of this is referred to in lines 9-10, where the flight of Saturn from Jupiter is mentioned. Two other family relationships, each introduced quite unexpectedly, are brought out in Elegy II.5. First, the Sibyl is reported to have begun her prophecy with the words, "Impiger Aenea, volitantis frater Amoris (lines 39)." Second, the poem ends with the following prayer to Apollo:

adnue: sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebe, capilli,
sic tua perpetuo sit tibi casta soror (lines 121-122).

In the last elegy of Book II, the themes of Nemesis and family are interwoven. Tibullus begins by expressing his willingness to go to war if only Love will spare him. Then he realizes that he would never have the courage to do such a thing. He reveals that he, led on by the goddess Hope, is still an exclusus amator. Showing genuine concern for Nemesis' welfare, he warns, "ei mihi ne vincas, dura puella, deam (line 28)." Then he appeals to her through her love for her dead sister:

parce, per immatura tuae precor ossa sororis:
sic bene sub tenera parva quiescat humo (lines 29-30).

He adds, "illa mihi sancta est (lines 31)." Broukhusius explains, "Ita loquebantur de mortuis, quos piorum esse sedem & locum consecutos arbitrantur."¹ Tibullus next

¹Broukhusius, p. 286, note 13.

states that he intends to adopt Nemesis' sister as his patron and to sit as a suppliant at her grave. He declares that the dead girl will not endure such a situation for long and predicts that in a short while Nemesis will be suffering from a nightmare in which she sees her sister

qualis ab excelsa praeceps delapsa fenestra
venit ad infernos sanguinolenta lacus (lines 39-40).

When he thinks of Nemesis being upset, Tibullus desists from speaking so that her grief will not be renewed. Concerning the next couplet, Lilja writes,

An unselfish reaction to woman's tears is intensified into self-denial in the attitude of Tibullus towards Nemesis, as expressed in non ego sum tanti, ploret ut illa semel (II, 6, 42), but in the very next line nec lacrimis oculos digna est foedare loquaces a more superficial factor is mentioned--the fear of the beloved's eyes getting spoiled by tears.¹

At the end of the poem (and of the book), Tibullus places all of the blame for his being denied access to his love on the lena, Phryne. This passage recalls a similar situation in Elegy I.5.² By addressing Nemesis as a close acquaintance (even though at one point in the poem he calls her his domina) and by sketching her as a victim of the lena, Tibullus makes his final portrait of Nemesis less harsh.³

¹Lilja, p. 194.

²Elegy I.5, lines 48-56. Tibullus also wishes ill for the lena in both poems.

³Nemesis, in this elegy, seems very similar to Delia, a fact which lends support to the theory that Delia and Nemesis are the same literary persona. See Baca, esp. pp. 88-93.

As a result, it is easier to believe that Tibullus still has hopes of winning her heart. Edward M. Michael observes,

The poet himself has not changed much. Perhaps the possibilities of finding... true love may have become increasingly remote, but he has not given up the hope that it will someday, somehow be found--even in a girl like Nemesis.¹

Interestingly, when he speaks of Hope's promise, Tibullus uses the verb spondere, which has the technical meaning of to betroth.

As in the first book of elegies, Tibullus, in Book II, never maligns the traditional attitudes toward marriage and the family.² On the contrary, Elegy II.2, is a celebration of a hoped-for ideal marriage; while Elegy II.1 and Elegy II.5 feature scenes of domestic happiness, which is also hinted at by the relationship of Nemesis and her sister in Elegy II.6. Solely from what he says about Nemesis, it is impossible to determine whether or not Tibullus is involved

¹Edward M. Michael, "Introduction," in The Poems of Tibullus, trans. by Constance Carrier (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 23.

²It is interesting to note that, although homosexual love may be alluded to in Elegy II.3 (see Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 168, note 11-12, and Smith, p. 416, note 11-12), there are no other references to homosexuality in Book II. Since this chapter studies the occurrence of Augustan attitudes concerning marriage in the poems of Tibullus, a detailed investigation of Tibullus' attitude toward paederasty seems inappropriate. The fact that the theme appears in Tibullus' poems, of course, points out even more vividly that there existed conflicting standards of conduct in society.

in an improper love affair. Tibullus neglects to mention the marital status of Nemesis. In Elegy II.6, he hints that she has other lovers when he reveals his thoughts upon being refused entrance to her home:

tunc morior curis, tunc mens mihi perdita fingit,
quisve meam teneat, quot teneatve modis (lines 51-52).

This is also possibly suggested by the following passage in Elegy II.3:

nota loquor: regnum ipse tenet quem saepe coegit
barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes.
at tibi dura seges, Nemesim qui abducis ab urbe,
persolvat nulla semina certa fide (lines 59-62).

Putnam remarks that the phrase regnum tenet "refers equally well to economic or erotic achievement."¹ Qui² in line 62 (line 3 above) could also refer to a lover.³ Tibullus never idealizes Nemesis. As Riposati points out,

essa è in certo modo l' anti-Delia; non la creatura del sogno e del cuore, non la formosa puella, che carezza ed eleva col suo imperio soave, me la domina dura che impone il suo triste servitium.⁴

Tibullus implies that his love for Nemesis is able to persuade him to engage in activities of which his conscience disapproves. In Elegy II.3, after stating "praeda tamen multis est operata malis (lines 36)" and enumerating the

¹Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 174, note 63-64.

²Some manuscripts have quae rather than qui. For a discussion of the textual problems in lines 61-62, see Maguiness, p. 32. See also Lenz, p. 121.

³Other possibilities are parent, legal guardian, or husband.

⁴Riposati, p. 135.

problems which the desire for booty cause, Tibullus says that he is willing to become involved with booty so that Nemesis can float in luxury through the city. In Elegy II.4, he expresses willingness even to break the law and to commit sacrilege in order to gain access to Nemesis:

at mihi per caedem et facinus sunt dona paranda,
ne iaceam clausam flebilis ante domum;
aut rapiam suspensa sacris insignia fanis;
sed Venus ante alios est violanda mihi (lines 21-24).

In fact, one of the subordinate themes of Book II seems to be that blind acceptance of the code of love can lead to actions of which society disapproves and which bring disgrace. In Elegy II.1, Tibullus relates that love causes youths to lose their money, old men to utter shameful words at the doors of young girls, and girls to become deceptive and to venture out alone against orders. In Elegy II.3, he describes Apollo in seeming disgrace (but not disgraced since such actions were then allowed) for love. He also indicates that the god is so overpowered by love that he neglects his "civic" duties:

saepe duces trepidis petiere oracula rebus,
venit et a templis irrita turba domum (lines 21-22).

Concerning the figure servitium amoris, which is especially prominent in Elegy II.3 and Elegy II.4, Copley writes,

It is an expression of the lover's humility and abasement, of his willingness in the name of love to undergo punishments and to undertake duties which in real life were felt to be peculiar to the slave alone, and entirely unworthy of a free man. By its very nature, therefore, the figure is romantic-sentimental, for it idealizes love out of all relation

to reality, and perhaps as does no other figure used by the elegists, transports the poets and their personae into a phantasy-world created out of their own imagination. In thought, if not in actuality, they debase themselves for love to a social level to which in their saner moments they would never have condescended.

In Elegy II.5, the ability of love to thwart (as well as to inspire) creativity useful to the state is brought out. Tibullus, in his final elegy, says to Amor,

tu miserum torques, tu me mihi dira precari
cogis et insana mente nefanda loqui (lines 17-18).

Thus in Tibullus' elegies as in the works of the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus, the conflict between the standards of conduct accepted by society and those demanded by the code of love is abundantly clear. Moreover, it is evident that the persona of Tibullus accepts the traditional moral code, which Augustus was attempting to restore, as indicative of the ideal and "right" way to live though he, at least temporarily, has chosen to live the "wrong" way.

¹Frank Olin Copley, "Servitium Amoris in the Roman Elegists," Transactions of the American Philological Association, LXXVIII, 1947), p. 285.

CHAPTER V

POSTSCRIPT: TIBULLUS AND APOLLO

Besides being in harmony with Augustus and the writers in his circle with regard to war and peace, the city and the country, and love and the moral code, Tibullus also displays the same attitude toward Apollo.¹ Apollo, the patron god of Augustus,² is given special prominence in Book II of Tibullus. In Elegy II.3, Tibullus not only offers a graphic presentation of the god but also causes the reader to empathize with him. Apollo, the god of light, music, prophecy, and healing,³ is described feeding the bulls of Admetus, driving cows from stables, making cheese, and carrying a calf. Then his attempts to sing are related:

¹Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, "An 'Inspired Message,'" American Journal of Philology, XXXIX (1918), pp. 341-366, presents a thorough study of Apollo in the works of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius. Her comments on Tibullus, however, are cursory.

²For a discussion of why Augustus adopted Apollo as his patron god, see Haight, pp. 346-347. For other comments on the special relationship of Augustus and Apollo, see Rowell, pp. 188-189; Syme, pp. 447-448; and Starr, p. 58.

³Three of Apollo's divine functions are brought to mind through the references to his incurable affliction, his singing, and his oracles.

O quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta
rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves (lines 19-20)!

Furthermore, Apollo is said to have neglected his physical appearance (symbolized by his hair) and his prophetic arts, which were of no assistance to him in his situation. On the line, "Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica Pytho (line 27)?" Smith comments, "the splendour and fame of Apollo's two great shrines of Delos and Delphi weigh as nothing against the behests of mighty love."¹ Tibullus also points out that another of Apollo's arts was of no avail:

nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis:
quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor (lines 13-14).

The entire vignette seems to serve as an apology for Tibullus, a mere mortal, who finds himself in a situation similar to that of the patron god of the princeps. In Elegy II.4, there is only one reference to Apollo. Tibullus complains that in his attempts to win Nemesis, "nec prosunt elegi nec carminis auctor Apollo (line 13)." The phrase "carminis auctor," which, as Putnam notes, can mean "'discoverer, exemplar of song,' or 'promoter of my (i.e. Tibullus') song,'"² is an indirect compliment to Apollo. Elegy II.5 is addressed to the same deity. The very first word in the poem is Phoebe, a title of Apollo which means "the Shining One." The opening and closing couplets request the favor of the god. In

¹Smith, p. 419, notes 27-28.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 178, note 13-14

addition the setting of the poem is the temple of Apollo on the Palatine,¹ where the installation of Messalinus into the college of the quindecimviri sacris faciundis is taking place.² The opening invocation presents an impressive picture of the god. Apollo, who is invited to come both carrying a cithara and wearing a laurel crown, is pictured under two aspects--that of a singer and that of triumphator. Smith,³ Postgate,⁴ and Putnam⁵ feel that Tibullus' description is modelled after the statue of Apollo Citharoedus by Scopas,⁶ which was in the Palatine temple. Smith⁷ calls attention to Propertius' description of this statue:

deinde inter matrem deus ipse interque sororem
 Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat.
 hic equidem Phoebo visus mihi pulchrior ipso
 marmoreus tacita carmen hiare lyra (II.31, lines
 15-18).

If, as seems likely, Tibullus is talking of the same statuary group, the reference to Diana in the final couplet of Elegy II.5 becomes more understandable. Moreover, the

1

See Chapter III, p. 108.

2

Augustus was a member of and, at least at the time of the Saecular Games, served as the magister of the quindecimviri sacris faciundis. See Res Gestae XXII.

3

Smith, p. 446, note 2-10.

4

Postgate, "Tibulliana," p. 57.

5

Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 84, note 1-2.

6

Pliny, Natural History XXXVI.25.

7

Smith, p. 446, note 2-10.

mention of Apollo's hair in that couplet may be a reference to Latona whose statue was also in the group; for it recalls Latona's concern about the state of her son's hair in Elegy II.3--

saepe horrere sacros doluit Latona capillos (lines 24).

Much scholarly attention has been paid to line 4 of Elegy II.5--

nunc precor ad laudes flectere verba novas.

Postgate maintains that the word laudes means "the good deeds of war, for laudes have a special regard to military achievements."¹ He argues that lines 9 and 10, in which Apollo is invited to come looking as he did when he sang laudes after the victory of Jupiter over Saturn, support this interpretation.² He further believes that Apollo's laurel wreath symbolizes the victory at Actium as well as Jupiter's victory over Saturn and that there is reference to Actium in lines 79-80.³ In most manuscripts, the adjective meas rather than novas modifies laudes.⁴ Heyne, who accepts the reading meas, explains that Tibullus is thinking of Apollo as his choragus: "rogat ut praebeat Apollo partim lyra impulsa, partim voce ad quam ipse poeta

¹Postgate, "Tibulliana," p. 56.

²Postgate, "Tibulliana," p. 58.

³Postgate, Selections..., p. 124, note 5. See also Chapter II, p. 41.

⁴See the apparatus criticus of Lenz, p. 106.

modos suos accomodet."¹

The picture of Apollo as the inspirer of song leads nicely into the next section of the poem, in which Apollo is presented as the source of prophetic inspiration. Tibullus relates that Apollo sees events far in the future and governs the fall of lots. The augur dedicated to him is able to gain insight into what fate holds in store by listening to the songs of birds. With his assistance, the haruspex interprets the prophetic messages signalled by the slippery entrails of animals. Most important for this poem, under the guidance of Apollo, the Sibyl, who has never deceived the Romans, sings in verse of hidden matters. Tibullus asks Apollo to teach Messalinus personally how to interpret the Sibylline Books. Then he relates what the Sibyl revealed to Aeneas. That she was under the inspiration of Apollo at that time is hinted at by the following statement: "vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia laurus vesca (lines 63-63)." Niall Rudd points out that "it was believed that poetic and prophetic inspiration could be achieved by chewing laurel leaves, the idea being originally, perhaps, that one could get into contact with Apollo by means of his sacred tree."² The inspired state of the Sibyl is made clearer by the next couplet:

¹

Heyne, p. 124, note 4.

²

Niall Rudd, Lines of Enquiry: Studies in Latin Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 92.

haec cecinit vates et te sibi, Phoebe, vocavit,
iactavit fusas et caput ante comas (lines 65-66).

Smith comments,

et is not to be taken in the sense of 'and then.' In point of the time 'haec cecinit' comes last. The Sibyl called the god and then, as in all such cases, had to go through the more or less agonizing process of 'getting the spirit' (66) before prophesying at all. When the condition of 'second sight' is once reached, the seer proceeds quietly to the end...If Tibullus had mentioned these preliminaries in their regular place, the artistic effect of the sudden interruption at line 39 would have been lost.¹

Tibullus also mentions the prophecies of other sibyls.

Elizabeth Hazelton Haight finds in Elegy II.5 as well as in the works of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius, what she calls "the Apollo-Sibyl-Augustus theme," which she feels was "inspired" by Augustus himself.²

In relating the bad omens which occurred in the past, Tibullus possibly alludes to Apollo as god of the sun when he says that a cloudy year saw the Sun³ lacking in light.

1

Smith, p. 465, note 65.

2

Haight, pp. 346-360. Summarizing her theory, Haight, p. 347, states,

Certainly I think I can point out in the Augustan poetry what I may call 'an inspired message' (possibly coming directly from the Emperor, perhaps, through Maecenas) which sought to emphasize the Apollo cult and the prestige of the Sibylline oracles; to disassociate the Sibyl from the Tarquins and associate her in the popular imagination with Aeneas, the Julian gens and Augustus; and often to identify Augustus with Apollo, and to interweave the exaltation of Apollo-worship with the Imperial theme.

3

Indicating personification, the editors of the manuscripts capitalize Solem. That the identification

Tibullus begins the next section of Elegy II.5 with a request that Apollo submerge evil omens under the sea.

He adds,

et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis,
omine quo felix et sacer annus erit (lines 81-82).

Explaining the significance of this couplet, Postgate states,

The bay [laurel, Apollo's favorite tree,] is suggested by mention of Apollo. If the bay leaves crackled when thrown into the altar flame it was a favorable sign.¹

That Apollo was the god of archery as well as of the sun and prophecy is brought out in lines 105-108, when Tibullus asks him to allow bows and arrows to perish since Cupid is misusing his weapons. Putnam points out that ars bona (line 107) may refer either to hunting (Apollo's divine province) or love (Cupid's concern).² Putnam also observes that throughout Elegy II.5, the appearance of Apollo's name (which, as he notes, occurs in lines 1, 17, 65, 79, and 121) always marks a careful change of theme.³

of Apollo (Phoebus) with the sun was known in the Augustan Age seems to be shown by the following quotations: "Apollinis nomen est Graecum, quem solem esse volunt (Cicero, De Deorum Natura II.27.68)"; "Hanc ut Solem Apollinem quidam Dianam vocant (Apollinis, vocabulum Graecum alterum, alterum Latinum) (Varro, De Lingua Latina V. 68)." See also Horace, Odes III.21, line 24, and Carmen Saeculare, line 1; Vergil, Aeneid IV, line 6.

¹Postgate, Selections..., p. 135, note 81.

²Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 194, note 107-108.

³Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 194, note 105-106.

Tibullus suggests a special link between Apollo and himself when he advises Nemesis,

at tu (nam divum servat tutela poetas)
praemoneo, vati parce, puella, sacro (lines 113-114).

The key phrase in this couplet is vati sacro, for it indicates that Tibullus considers himself a poet-priest-prophet. J. K. Newman, who maintains that the acceptance of the vates-concept is one of the earmarks of Augustan poetry,¹ comments on the couplet,

It seems quite clear that a distinction is to be drawn between the initial poetas, meaning 'poets in general' and vates sacer, whose special task it is to sing of victory in war. The use of praemoneo indicates that the notion of 'soothsayer' was not entirely separate from that of 'poet' in vates here.²

Tibullus uses the word vates in two other places in Elegy II.5 (line 18 and line 65), each time in reference to the Sibyl, whose association with Apollo is clearly brought out in the poem. Therefore, one of the gods under whose protection Tibullus claims to be surely is Apollo. Newman points out that, though Tibullus uses the word vates only in Elegy II.5, he employs the vates-concept in other poems. In reference to the opening lines of Elegy II.1 and Elegy II.2, Newman observes,

Quisquis adest faueat: fruges lustramus et aegros...

1

J. K. Newman, The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry, (Bruxelles: Latomus, Revue D'Etudes Latines, 1967), p. 9.

2

Newman, p. 98.

and Dicamus bona uerba: uenit Natalis ad aras...
these are words we associate with an officiating
priest.¹

The conclusions of both Elegy II.1 (lines 81-90) and Elegy II.2 (lines 17-22) also present Tibullus as an officiating priest. In Elegy II.2, line 11, Tibullus prefaces his forecast of Cornutus' wish with "auguror." He seems, therefore, to be thinking of himself as one of a special class of soothsayers, who, as he relates in Elegy II.5,² receive inspiration from Apollo. In Elegy II.1, he portrays himself as an haruspex:

eventura precor: viden ut felicibus extis
significet placidos nuntia fibra deos (lines 25-26)?

Tibullus appears to be a prophet again in Elegy II.6 when he predicts Nemesis' nightmare. Moreover, Solmsen finds in various places in Book I of Tibullus' elegies a tone and style which suggest divine inspiration. His first example is line 15-40 of Elegy I.2. After carefully analyzing the poet's growing fervor, reflected in the grand style of writing in this passage, Solmsen notes,

The poet has worked himself into the state of mind of a vates or of a sacerdos Veneris. The solemnly religious tone in which he now speaks may remind us (for instance) of the First Roman Ode.³

Comparing the passage in Elegy I.2 with lines 37-54 of

¹ Newman, p. 97. Newman also points out that the language of the opening of Elegy II.5 is deceptively vatic.

² Elegy II.5, lines 11-12.

³ Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 315.

Elegy I.6, Solmsen remarks,

There are obvious similarities...In both the poet--or shall we say, the lover?--adopts an attitude of peculiar authority and a language instinct with what 'Longinus' would call a σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος. In both he claims to speak in the name of a deity, and in both his solemn and sacerdotal utterances are presented in close proximity to an awe-inspiring religious motif.¹

Other examples of passages in which the poet-lover is portrayed as "a being singled out to receive religious inspiration and enjoy divine favor"² are the opening of Elegy I.8 (lines 1-8)³ and lines 77-80 of Elegy I.4.⁴

In the poems of Tibullus, additional emphasis is given to Apollo by references to his sister, Diana, who is often associated with him in the works of the writers in the literary circle of Augustus.⁵ As was mentioned above, Diana is invoked with Apollo at the conclusion of Elegy II.5. In Elegy II.3, she is pictured blushing at her brother's awkwardness.⁶ She is alluded to as goddess of the moon in Elegy II.4:

nec refero solisque vias et qualis, ubi orbem
complevit, versis Luna recurrit equis (lines 17-18).

¹Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 317.

²Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 319.

³Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 318.

⁴Solmsen, "Tibullus as an Augustan Poet," p. 320-321.

⁵See Haight, p. 351.

⁶Elegy II.3, lines 17-18.

In Elegy I.8, she is referred to in the same manner,¹ while in Elegy I.4 she is spoken of as Dictynna.² Putnam, explains, "Dictynna was a Cretan nymph whose cult was assimilated to that of Artemis."³ Both Putnam⁴ and Smith⁵ observe that the association of the virgin goddess with lovers is unusual. The mention of her arrows brings to mind that Diana, like her brother, Apollo, was skilled in archery. Elsewhere in Tibullus' elegies, Diana is alluded to as Trivia⁶ and Hecate.⁷ Putnam comments,

Hecate is the underworld aspect of the Dea Triformis (Luna in heaven, Artemis--Diana on earth). She is⁸ often called Trivia for her worship at crossroads.

Baca, who feels that Delia and Nemesis are pseudonyms for one domina, theorizes that the names, like that of Propertius' Cynthia, are chosen because of their association with the goddess Diana.⁹

In short, although they are not mentioned with great

¹ Elegy I.8, line 21.

² Elegy I.4, line 25.

³ Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 92, note 25-26.

⁴ Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 92, note 25-26.

⁵ Smith, p. 271, note 25-26.

⁶ Elegy I.5, line 16.

⁷ Elegy I.2, line 54.

⁸ Putnam, Tibullus: A Commentary, p. 68, note 53-54.

⁹ See Baca, pp. 63, 68-70, and 85-89.

frequency, Apollo and his sister Diana are prominent in the poetry of Tibullus just as they are in the works of the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus. Moreover, the persona of Tibullus seems to consider himself a vates in the Augustan sense of the word.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this final chapter the findings of the four previous chapters will be summarized, followed by the conclusions, new to scholarship, which can be drawn from the evidence presented.

In this chapter, when the name Tibullus is used, it will mean the literary persona of Tibullus, not the historical Tibullus himself, unless stated otherwise.

A study of the elegies of the Tibullus reveals that his literary persona shares several attitudes with the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus.¹ Like them, Tibullus' persona has ambivalent feelings with regard to war and peace. Throughout Book I, Tibullus expresses a desire for peace--if not total peace in the political sense, at least peaceful conditions at home so that

¹In this dissertation, Tibullus' attitudes have been compared with those of Augustus, Vergil, Horace, and Propertius. Preliminary research suggests that a thorough study of the history of Livy would reveal many of the same attitudes. For comments on Augustan ideas in Livy and a discussion of the relationship of Livy and Augustus, see T. J. Luce, Livy: The Composition of His History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 276-294, and P. G. Walsh, Livy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), pp. 5-7.

he can 1) be with his love and 2) engage in agricultural pursuits. He looks back wistfully at the time before warfare came into existence. He imagines an ideal, peaceful life in the country with Delia. In Book II, the peaceful conditions for which Tibullus had hoped seem to have come to pass. He implies that peace prevails in most of the empire and expresses the hope that it will continue to do so. That Tibullus personally rejects the military lifestyle is evident from the first elegy of Book I, where Tibullus states that he prefers poverty to military service. In Elegy I.2, he re-emphasizes the same idea when he declares that he would choose to pasture cows and sleep on the ground rather than to be an outstanding military commander. In Elegy I.10, he complains that he is being dragged off to war. Throughout his poetry, Tibullus makes mention of the horrors of war and the difficulties of the soldier on campaign. He severely criticizes men who engage in warfare for the sake of booty. Balancing this criticism, however, is Tibullus' praise for Messalla's military accomplishments. In Elegy I.7, Tibullus claims a share of Messalla's honor. In Elegy II.5, he looks forward to singing of the triumphal procession of Messalla's son, Messalinus. That Tibullus himself not only served as a soldier but also nearly lost his life while on a military expedition is revealed in Elegy I.3. Tibullus, then, seems to hate war in itself but to view it as a necessary

evil, in which he hopes that he will never again be involved. He admires morally good military leaders but condemns the greedy. Though lacking interest in a career as either a soldier or an epic poet, he frequently employs military images and themes in his elegies.

Like the writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus, the persona of Tibullus has both a deep attachment to the city of Rome and a desire to live in the country. He also shares with the Augustan poets an appreciation of the beauty of nature. In many of Tibullus' elegies, the setting subtly changes from city to country and vice versa. Moreover, Tibullus employs with equal frequency the themes of the exclusus amator (which is generally associated with the city) and of the dedicated rustic. Heartwarming pictures of happy family life in the country are balanced by references to triumphal processions, crowds, foreign deities, and luxury items, which suggest the sophistication and excitement of the city. In Book I, Tibullus seems to be a city dweller who longs for the traditional rustic lifestyle, which he idealizes. He hopes to live happily-ever-after with his love on a modest rustic estate. Since he is portrayed as officiating at a private agricultural festival in Elegy II.1, Tibullus appears in that poem to be the head of a rural estate. Moreover, in the same poem, Tibullus enumerates the country's contributions to civilization. In Elegy II.3, however, he is an urbanite once more.

In Elegy II.5, Tibullus, acting as a vates in the Augustan sense of the word, reveals some of the splendor of the city to which he gives the epithet eternal. Moreover, in this poem he connects the prosperity of the city with the fruitfulness of the surrounding countryside. Throughout his poetry, Tibullus associates the traditional rustic lifestyle with good moral values and devotion to gods, family, and nation. He considers the countryside as the source of Rome's greatness and as a model for the future, to which he looks forward, in typically Augustan fashion, with optimism in all of his elegies.

The writers in the literary circle favored by Augustus accepted in theory the traditional moral code, which required pietas (devotion to family, gods, and country) as a guide for living. Their works, however, indicate that in reality there existed a discrepancy between the high standards handed down from previous generations and the standards demanded by the code of love. Although he is engaged in untraditional love affairs, the persona of Tibullus considers as his ideal the traditional family lifestyle. In Book I, Tibullus relates that his relationship with Delia is sanctioned by the gods and approved by her mother. He stresses his faithfulness to Delia and attributes her indiscretions to forces beyond her control. When Tibullus dreams of the future, he imagines Delia as the perfect wife. In Elegy I.3, he compares himself to

Odysseus and Delia to Penelope. Improper aspects of Tibullus' love affair are played down. Delia's coniunx is mentioned twice and in both instances is shown to be underserving of her. Tibullus does not proselytize for his own lifestyle. On the contrary, even in his paederastic poems, traditional heterosexual marriages are alluded to without disapproval; and the need for faithfulness in all love is emphasized. As a result, Tibullus, in Book I, seems less in conflict with the standards of the Augustan regime with regard to marriage and the family than he actually is. From the information given about Nemesis, whose marital status is not mentioned, it is impossible to determine whether or not Tibullus' affair with her is an illicit one. Tibullus, however, does imply that his love for Nemesis makes him willing to engage in activities of which his conscience disapproves. As in Book I, in the second book of his elegies, Tibullus never maligns traditional attitudes toward marriage and the family. On the contrary, Elegy II.2 is a celebration of a hoped-for ideal marriage; while Elegy II.1 and Elegy II.5 feature scenes of domestic happiness, which is also hinted at by the relationship of Nemesis and her sister in Elegy II.6.

Finally, the persona of Tibullus, like the writers associated with Augustus, has a special regard for Apollo (the patron god of Augustus), especially as the source of poetic inspiration. The exemplum of Apollo serving Admetus

in Elegy II.3 is an apology for Tibullus' behavior. Elegy II.5 is not only addressed to Apollo but also is set in the temple in Rome which Augustus built for him. Moreover, in this poem Tibullus suggests a special link between himself and Apollo when he classifies himself as a vates in the Augustan sense of the word. Apollo is given additional emphasis in the elegies through references to his sister, Diana.

As has been shown above, the persona of Tibullus displays four characteristically Augustan attitudes: 1) a strong desire for peace and a personal rejection of the military lifestyle coupled with regard for the military achievement of the patria and of its leaders; 2) a longing for the rustic lifestyle as well as a love of and pride in the city of Rome; 3) a re-affirmation of the traditional attitudes toward marriage and family life; and 4) a special regard for Apollo, the patron god of Augustus, especially as the source of poetic inspiration. Therefore, it may be concluded that Tibullus' work is attuned to some of the aims of the new regime, though his support as revealed in his poetry is less obvious than that of his contemporaries.

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